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QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]

No 19,1 October 1990

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Always Carry Forward the Yanan Spirit of Plain Living and Hard Work

*HK2510120190 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 90 pp 2-7*

[Article by Zhang Boxing (1728 0514 5281), secretary, Shaanxi Provincial CPC Committee]

[Text] The Yanan period was the most important period of development in the history of the CPC. During this period, the Yanan spirit, which had the greatest creative significance in the entire history of the party, was developed through the initiative of Comrade Mao Zedong and the concerted efforts of the whole party. It has rich content, and its style of plain living and hard work is an important aspect and outstanding characteristic of this spirit. In his "Return Message" to the people of Yanan and the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region on 26 October 1949, Comrade Mao Zedong urged the people to "always carry forward the work style of plain living and hard work demonstrated by the personnel working in Yanan and the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region over the past 13 years." In the past 41 years, the people of Shaanxi always bore in mind the teachings of the "Return Message," and always regarded carrying forward the Yanan spirit of plain living and hard work as their unshirkable and glorious duty in maintaining their true political colors, giving full scope to their political supremacy and carrying forward the revolutionary tradition.

After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation pointed out time and again that we must restore and carry forward the Yanan spirit of plain living and hard work. The basic line formulated by the 13th National Party Congress has plain living and hard work as its important component. Since last year, Comrade Jiang Zemin and other leaders of the Central Committee have, during their visits to Shaanxi at different times, given important instructions on carrying forward the Yanan spirit and stressed that we must never discard the spirit of plain living and hard work and cannot do without the Yanan spirit in building socialism. A study of these important instructions has increased our sense of responsibility and urgency about strengthening education in revolutionary traditions and carrying forward the Yanan spirit.

I. We Need the Yanan Spirit of Plain Living and Hard Work in Building a Modernized and Strong Socialist Country

Carrying forward the Yanan spirit of plain living and hard work during the new period is a task determined by the basic conditions of our country. The modernization program and open and reform policy we are now undertaking are great undertakings with no parallels in history. In a sense, they are more arduous and complicated than the revolutionary war to remove the three big mountains [imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism]. As a developing country, we have attracted worldwide

attention for the achievements we have made in building socialism over the past 41 years. The standards of our material life are far better than what they were during the Yanan days. However, large population, meager heritage, low starting point, late start, heavy burdens, and uneven economic development between regions remain the basic conditions of our country. Moreover, as a result of interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the gang of four, as well as the policy mistakes made by the party due to its lack of experience in leading economic work, the overall level of our economic development and the per capita gross national product are far from commensurate with our status as a big socialist country with 5,000 years of civilization and a population of 1.1 billion. Take our Shaanxi Province, for instance. After 10 years of reform and opening up, our economy has developed by leaps and bounds. An agricultural and industrial production system which is quite complete in range and is of a fair size has begun to take shape. Our province occupies an important position in the country, and is doing quite well in education, science, and technology, and in the defense, textile, electronics, energy, and building material industries. However, a substantial gap still exists between our province and the coastal cities of southeast China. Our province has an area of 200,000 square kilometers, about 80 percent of which is made up of mountains, hilly land, and gullies. These areas are economically and culturally backward and have poor natural conditions. Scores of hundreds of thousands of people are still living in poverty. Some places that have just shaken off poverty are still very vulnerable to natural disasters because of their poor foundation and meager heritage. They could become impoverished once again should anything go wrong. Although grain production has, for the first time, stopped fluctuating during the last couple of years, per capita grain consumption is still below the national average. How to push agricultural production to a higher plane against the backdrop of population growth and diminishing arable land is an extremely arduous task. Just as formidable is the task of readjusting the structure and product mix of the industrial and mining industries, as many of our economic indicators are still lagging far behind the fast-developing provinces. Since the second half of last year, the situation of industrial production has been rather grim due to a sluggish market and the shortage of funds. The financial situation at the local level is also very strained, and "everyday finances" will continue to be a restrictive factor in our stable socioeconomic development for a long time to come. In order to change this state of affairs, we must adopt economic measures specifically suited to the conditions of our province and do everything possible to secure support from outside. More important, efforts must be made to carry forward the spirit of plain living and hard work of the Yanan period in our guiding ideology and actual work. Although the spirit of plain living and hard work has different forms of expression at different times and under different situations and circumstances, its meaning is the same. Essentially, it is a state of mind that urges one to exert oneself and press forward with indomitable will; it is a strong will which

compels one to defy difficulties and fight for truth despite all setbacks; it is a mental outlook that enables one to make unremitting efforts to improve oneself, open up new horizons, and aspire to make progress. This revolutionary spirit is the true political color inherent in our party, the source of strength behind the prosperity of our nation, and the important spiritual strength for the realization of the grand cause of the four modernizations. The fundamental way to realize the four modernizations is to rely on our own efforts, rise in great vigor, open up new horizons, and pioneer this great cause with industry and thrift. If we depart from this traditional basis, the grand objectives of the four modernizations will be no more than castles in the air. Fantasizing that we can reap results without protracted efforts will get us nowhere. In order to build an economically backward country like ours into a modernized and strong country, we must use the spirit of plain living and hard work to stimulate and encourage the people of the whole country to wage a concerted and protracted struggle. Even if, through the efforts of the people of the whole country and the whole province, we managed to achieve a relatively comfortable standard of living or even catch up with the moderately developed countries, we still need to carry forward the Yanan spirit of plain living and hard work as part of our endeavor to spread and continue the national spirit of constantly striving to become stronger. We must firmly establish a correct understanding of this need from this moment on so that the whole people, particularly the younger generation, can truly understand its profound significance. Otherwise, this heirloom of Yanan spirit will be lost, or we might think of the Yanan spirit when we are in trouble, but will cast it completely out of our mind as soon as the trouble was over.

Carrying forward the Yanan spirit of plain living and hard work is also necessary in the fight against corruption. The spirit of plain living and hard work and corruption are diametrically opposed to each other. They represent the antithesis between the proletarian outlook on life and the bourgeois outlook on life, and boil down to the question of whether we serve the people or work for our own personal gains. Among the many factors for corruption, an important factor is that people have forgotten the spirit of plain living and hard work. At present, whether or not we can check corruption is a big issue pertaining to the life or death of our party and state. Carrying forward the Yanan spirit of plain living and hard work is an effective means of dealing punitive blows at corruption. With this in mind, we must approach the question of whether or not we should promote the Yanan spirit of plain living and hard work from the high plane of the life or death of our party and state.

The CPC, as a totally new form of political party, is essentially different from all bourgeois political groups or parties. The party's nature, goal, and guiding ideology determine that the party must take working for the interests of the people as the starting point and ultimate

goal of all its activities. They also determine that, for the interests of the people, comrades of the whole party must practice plain living and hard work, be honest in fulfilling their official duties, and refrain from seeking personal gain. All acts of extravagance, waste, decadence, and bureaucratic prerogatives are in violation of the people's interests and constitute despicable offenses. The change in the status of our party following its seizure of political power has created more favorable conditions for better serving the people. However, it also hides and increases the danger of the party becoming degenerate and corrupt and becoming estranged from the masses. On the one hand, some corrupt elements who desire to reap gains from the ruling position but are unwilling to devote themselves to the people have sneaked into the party. On the other hand, some people who cannot withstand the trials of power have bartered away their authority for money and degenerated into corrupt elements. In the early 1950's, shortly after the founding of the People's Republic, the party enjoyed high prestige among the masses. Amid the chorus of praises, some party members and cadres began to forget the warning and demand made by Comrade Mao Zedong at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh CPC Central Committee. Within a short time, they cast away the fine tradition of plain living and hard work and became easy targets of the bourgeois "sugar-coated bullets." They started to practice corruption, waste, and bureaucratism. In order to solve these problems, our party unfolded the "three-anti" and "five-anti" movements and the movement to consolidate the party and rectify the style of work, wiped out a group of degenerate elements, and strengthened education in the fine revolutionary tradition. These efforts helped restore good party-people relations and ensured that the party could smoothly lead the people in carrying out socialist revolution and construction. Since the new period of reform and opening the country to the outside world, our party has once again come under the onslaught of corruption. The previous onslaught cannot bear comparison because this time around the impact is much more violent, the types and varieties of corrupt practices are much more varied, the number of party members and cadres involved is far greater, and the degree of their involvement is much higher. Under the influence of the bourgeois liberalization trend and other erroneous ideas, the spiritual pillar of some party members and cadres has become dislocated and their moral values have crumbled. They cast away the heirloom of plain living and hard work, are unwilling to practice diligence and thrift, and disdain to show concern for the well-being of the masses. They go as far as to abuse their power, grab money, practice corruption and squandering, and become involved in malfeasance and dereliction of duty in complete defiance of the interests of the people, party discipline, and state law. In so doing, they have inflicted serious damage to the four modernizations and the cause of reform and opening the country to the outside world. Hence, in order to ensure the smooth progress of the socialist modernization program and the in-depth development of the reform and

open policy, we must constantly take the "tonic" of plain living and hard work to enhance our ability to resist corrupt practices.

The Yanan spirit of plain living and hard work is also a powerful spiritual weapon for checking "peaceful evolution." Since the time socialism won a series of major victories in the world, international hostile forces have never given up their fundamental aim of showing hostility toward and subverting the socialist system. Since the late 1950's, they have formulated the strategy of "peaceful evolution" and, taking advantage of the temporary gap between socialist and capitalist countries in terms of economic development, the temporary difficulties encountered by socialist countries, as well as the opportunity afforded by the practice of the reform and open policy in these countries, resorted to decadent bourgeois ideas and ways of life to poison and corrupt "the weak-willed among our ranks" and "those who cannot resist the attack of sugar-coated bullets," particularly the people of the younger generation who have grown up in a peaceful environment. They want these people to become politically muddled, blindly worship things foreign, go after enjoyment, cease to be progressive, and eventually degenerate into the social basis of their "peaceful evolution." This kind of evolution and infiltration will continue for a long time to come. This compels us to persevere in using the Yanan spirit of plain living and hard work to educate the whole party and the whole people, particularly the youngsters. Through this kind of education, we can help the people to correctly deal with the gaps that exist between our country and the capitalist countries in material and cultural life as well as the temporary difficulties that we have encountered, and guide the people to think of ways of relying on the spirit of plain living and hard work to narrow these gaps and overcome the temporary difficulties through sustained and unremitting efforts. From the early days of the People's Republic to the 1960's, the Daqing spirit, the iron-man spirit, and the like were developed on the basis of carrying forward the Yanan spirit. It was precisely this kind of noble spirit that inspired the Chinese people to withstand pressure from outside. In spite of poor material conditions, the whole party and the people of the whole country remained high-spirited and were always ready to rise in great vigor. Today, we are again confronted with numerous difficulties on our road of advance. It is only through plain living and hard work that we can catch up with and ultimately surpass the economic level of the developed capitalist countries and give full expression to the superiority of the socialist system. It is only when the party's glorious tradition and the nation's traditional virtue of plain living and hard work have struck root in the hearts of the people, and when the whole society thinks that it is an honor to practice frugality and engage in plain living and hard work, that we can truly rally our party and our people to resist the corrosion of decadent ideas, eliminate the social basis of attempts by imperialism to bring about "peaceful evolution" in our country, and ensure that our socialist country will never change color.

II. In Carrying Forward the Yanan Spirit of Plain Living and Hard Struggle, It Is Necessary To Overcome Various Ideological Obstacles

Some years ago, when the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization spread unchecked, the party's fine traditions and work style formed through the protracted practice of revolutionary struggle came under attack and were negated for no reason at all. The Yanan spirit was the first to be affected by this adverse current. The "theory that the Yanan spirit has become obsolete" caused a temporary clamor then. Due to negligence by the propaganda workers and bias in their propaganda approach, some muddle-headed comrades also dealt with the Yanan spirit in a vulgar, over-simplistic and lopsided manner. The lofty reputation of the Yanan spirit in people's minds is thus undermined, and this poses an ideological obstacle to our efforts to carry forward this spirit today.

Some people hold that, as a consciousness, the spirit of plain living and hard work of the Yanan period was a product of survival needs under given circumstances. They maintain that, because this spirit is not the social product of the commodity economy, it cannot meet the needs of the current development of the commodity economy. This is wrong. We should admit that our present efforts to develop the commodity economy and build socialism with Chinese characteristics are very different from the Yanan period in terms of nature, task, and environment. Although the Yanan spirit was born of war, as the crystallization of the outstanding quality of the proletariat and the accumulation of the fine virtues of the Chinese nation, its methods of thinking are in keeping with the objective laws governing the progress of human society, and surpass the limits of that particular period. Like a flowing spiritual river, it also meets the needs of the development of the socialist commodity economy. Seen in overall dimensions, the development of the commodity economy and the carrying forward of the Yanan spirit of plain living and hard work are both objective requirements for socialist material and spiritual development, and both serve the need to satisfy the people's growing material and cultural needs on the basis of developed social productive forces. The fundamental objectives of the two tasks coincide. We should also recognize that the "input-output" law of the commodity economy requires the maximum economy of all production factors and the generation of maximum efficiency and benefits. If we depart from the principle of keeping spending within the limits of income, then industry, thrift, plain living, and hard work will become empty talk. Extravagance, wastefulness, and sitting at home eating away one's resources are incompatible with the spirit of plain living and hard work, and are practices that must be opposed in the development of the commodity economy. The commodity economy and the spirit of plain living and hard work are in harmony in terms of mental outlook. The law governing the commodity economy is survival of the fittest. In order to survive fierce competition, we need the spirit of all-out exertion. Only by making unremitting efforts to improve

ourselves, persisting in plain living and hard work, and bravely exploring new horizons can we establish ourselves in an unassailable position. Meanwhile, the Yanan spirit of plain living and hard work can also play the role of guiding, supervising, and restricting the negative aspects of the commodity economy, such as putting profit before everything else and thinking that money is all-powerful. It can ensure the healthy development of the commodity economy along the socialist road. The unity of opposites between the commodity economy and the spirit of plain living and hard work is an objective existence. If handled properly, the two can complement each other and bring out the best in each other.

Some people even set the Yanan spirit against improvement of the people's livelihood, thinking that plain living means mechanically imitating the life style of the war years and living in hardship. They are thus full of misgivings as they compare the present with the past. This is a complete misunderstanding. We should see that, due to "the theory of high consumption," which has been in vogue for some time, some people have unduly high expectations of the standards of material life. The overheating of consumption desires has touched off a series of serious social and economic problems. In order to help the people face squarely the national conditions, acquire a better understanding of reform, increase their ability to endure difficulties, and make a concerted effort to tide over the difficulties, the party Central Committee put forward the call to "live austere for a few years" and promoted the practice of plain living and hard work. "Living austere for a few years" is the embodiment of the spirit of plain living and hard work. However, living in austerity does not mean living in hardship, and the practice of plain living and hard work does not imply that people should practice asceticism and be content with poverty. "Austerity" is relative to "overspending." The decade of reform has produced tremendous achievements. Our living conditions are indeed a whole lot better than what they were before. On this basis, we should practice austerity, save for rainy days, and continue to maintain the spirit of plain living and hard work in order to further improve our lot. "Austerity" is essential, but we still have a life to live, and what needs to be spent should be spent. Leaders at various levels must not overlook the legitimate demands of the masses to improve their material and cultural lives, or negate the principle of material interests and use the call to carry forward the spirit of plain living and hard work as subterfuge to cover up bureaucratism. They must show concern for the well-being and difficulties of the masses and do everything in their power to tackle their problems and improve their lot. There is every need to defy poor conditions and persist in hard struggle, but, without the minimum conditions, hard struggle cannot last. This is where the question of consumption under conditions of austerity comes in. It refers to the question of how to use the spirit of plain living and hard struggle to control the "extent" of consumption. The laws of economics tell us that consumption spurs production. If normal consumption is totally or largely halted, production will lose the

drive and objective upon which it survives, and the economic operation of society as a whole will run into trouble. Thus, maintaining a moderate and appropriate level of consumption and consuming at the right moment on the basis of developing production are the concrete expressions of austerity and the spirit of plain living and hard work, and meet the objective demands for tackling the current problem of a sluggish market. In short, the ultimate aim of the call to promote the spirit of plain living and hard work and to live in austerity for a few years is to ensure that the people can live a still better life on the basis of developing production. The relationship between the two is a dialectical relationship of mutual promotion. Plain living and hard work can promote the development of production and material affluence so that people can live better each day. When people's living conditions have been improved, they will have a deeper understanding of the significance of the spirit of plain living and hard work, and carrying forward the Yanan spirit will have a more extensive and conscious mass base.

Some people think that the present stress on the Yanan spirit of plain living and hard work is directed against extravagance and wastefulness that prevailed at the preceding stage. They think that it is no more than a stopgap measure adopted when the state encountered temporary economic difficulties, a measure designed to check the undesirable habits of extravagance and wastefulness and make the people practice frugality. This view is an oversimplistic and intuitive understanding of the spirit of plain living and hard work. While industry, frugality, honesty, and simplicity are part and parcel of the spirit of plain living and hard work, it is not sufficient to stop at or confine ourselves to this superficial understanding. At a deeper level, the spirit of plain living and hard work refers to the proletarian world outlook and the communist moral norm and sense of value, as well as the enterprising spirit and the spirit of dedication and sacrifice born on this basis and shown by people who defy difficulties and fight valiantly for the common interests and common ideals of the state, the nation, and the people and for the socialist future. Only when we have come to recognize these can we scientifically and comprehensively understand the entire objective and function of the promotion of the Yanan spirit of plain living and hard work by our party. Only then will we come to realize that this measure is decidedly not aimed simply at checking the undesirable practices of extravagance and wastefulness, that it is intended mainly to ensure that Communists will never waver in their political conviction no matter what difficulties, and will always maintain their undaunted enterprising spirit and indelible passion for dedication. Using plain living and hard work as an effective means, and through the concerted efforts of the whole party, we can then achieve our goals of improving the material and cultural life of the masses, building socialism as quickly as possible, and ultimately realizing communism. Hence, all Communists and party organizations at various levels must not only wage an uncompromising struggle against corrupt

and undesirable practices and be leaders who are honest in performing their official duties, but must also be selfless givers with communist ideological and moral qualities, and be pioneers in various undertakings. They must not be content with becoming models of the practice of industry, frugality, plain living, and hard work, but must, with strategic foresight and concrete deeds, carry forward the party's fine traditions and work styles in an all-round way and practice plain living and hard work for the country and the nation for prolonged periods, even for a lifetime. Only in this way can we continuously develop the Yanan spirit of plain living and hard work in depth and bring it to a more sublime state.

III. Implement the Yanan Spirit of Plain Living and Hard Struggle With a Scientific and Realistic Attitude, and a Conscientious and Down-to-Earth Work Style

In order to carry forward the Yanan spirit of plain living and hard work under new historical conditions, first, we must conduct education with the help of typical cases and in light of the characteristics of the new period. In this way, we can help people foster a long-term concept of plain living and hard work. Whether or not the Yanan spirit of plain living and hard work can achieve concrete results in the whole society and become a spiritual weapon that can boost national morale and surmount all difficulties depends on the presence of the right "macroclimate," that is, the backing of suitable and favorable public opinion. In order to create such a fine environment, it is necessary to coordinate media propaganda and the forces of education in various quarters of society; conduct propaganda and education activities at different levels, in different forms, and with different content and requirements; and persist in giving expression to the theme of plain living and hard work at a given frequency and intensity so that it becomes a social custom observed by all. We must pay attention to the need to overcome the inconsistencies with the spirit of plain living and hard work that now prevail in some propaganda media. If, while calling on the people to practice plain living and hard work, we also tolerate certain media propaganda that encourages people to indulge in "luxury" and "top-class products," or make hints to such effect, in such a conflicting media environment it is inconceivable that education in the Yanan spirit of plain living and hard work can produce any concrete effects. When conducting propaganda and education in the Yanan spirit, we must also make good use of typical examples and use the examples of plain living and hard work set by revolutionary predecessors and advanced personages of our time to educate and influence the vast numbers of party members, cadres, and the masses. During the Yanan period, Mao Zedong dressed shoddily and had simple vegetarian meals while working his heart out guiding the Chinese revolution. Zhu De, who was already in his fifties then, still cultivated land, collected manure, and walked rather than rode in cars. Zhou Enlai wove yarn and cloth and took part in production. Zhang Side [1728 1835 1795] burned wood to make charcoal in the hills until he died. In the 1950's and 1960's, the people of Daqing "slept out in the open,

with the sky as their blanket and the earth their bed," and started their enterprise from scratch. These typical examples of plain living and hard work demonstrate the great spirit of dedication and sacrifice born of steadfast belief. Dissemination of these typical examples can enhance the vividness and appeal of propaganda for the Yanan spirit. At the same time, we must also use typical examples of plain living and hard work that crop up in the course of reform and opening up to educate the cadres and the masses and enhance the sense of reality of the Yanan spirit in order to achieve good propaganda and education effects.

Second, leading cadres at various levels must take the lead in carrying forward the Yanan spirit of plain living and hard work and set a good example for the cadres and the masses. Leading cadres are leaders of various undertakings. Their words and deeds directly affect the vast numbers of party members, cadres, and the masses. The general mentality of the people is that the masses look to party members; party members look to cadres; cadres look to leaders; and those below look to those above. Leading cadres must set an example so that party members and the masses can follow suit. Thus, when carrying forward the Yanan spirit, we must pay attention to the crucial issue of making leading cadres take the lead. In this connection, the Shaanxi Provincial CPC Committee adopted the "Decision on Carrying Forward the Yanan Spirit" last year. This decision was circulated to all parts of the province for conscientious implementation. The "Decision" set forth the following requirements in connection with such tasks as carrying forward the Yanan spirit, building a clean government, and improving the ties between the party and the masses: When demands are made on the masses, these demands must first be met by party members and cadres. When demands are made on grassroots cadres, these demands must first be met by leading cadres of the provincial CPC Committee and the provincial government. Deeds not matching words and thinking in one way and behaving in another will not be tolerated. All party cadres, particularly leading cadres and cadres of leading organs, must take the lead in implementing the relevant regulations of the Central Committee, the provincial CPC Committee, and the provincial government concerning clean government, and they must set an example as clean and honest officials. Besides setting an example with their own deeds, leading cadres at various levels must also personally grasp the building of clean government. To this end, the provincial CPC Committee also adopted the "Decision on Doing Six Things of Concern to the Masses in the Immediate Future" and the "Decision on Leading Cadres Personally Taking Charge of the Investigation of Cases and the Punishment of Corruption." It also issued the "Circular on the Building of Clean Government by Provincial-Level Leading Cadres." While personally taking charge of the investigation of major cadres, principal leading cadres of the provincial CPC Committee and provincial government also shared the work of building clean government in the organs of the provincial CPC Committee and provincial government, as well

as in the eight areas of agricultural administration, taxation, industry and commerce, electricity, public security, grain, water conservancy, and supply and marketing at the provincial level. A system of responsibility was established for party and government organs at various levels, so that the higher level can lead and set an example for the next lower level. We also paid attention to the need to give full scope to the role of People's Congresses, political consultative conferences, and other mass organizations in order to strengthen supervision, particularly supervision over leading cadres at the provincial level. We regarded honesty by leading bodies and leading cadres at various levels and their work of building clean government and developing party style as important criteria in the assessment of organs and cadres. Those who have performed well were commended and encouraged, and problems were dealt with in good time. We are determined to use our own concrete deeds, and, through several years of persistence, to influence and lead party members of the whole province from the top down to create a good social environment where plain living and hard work are held in esteem throughout the province.

Third, the task of carrying forward the Yanan spirit of plain living and hard work must be implemented in the actual work of respecting science and developing production. Today, the development of science and the extensive application of modern science and technology and modern management skills in production and other spheres of society have become an important lever in man's efforts to conquer nature and promote social progress. Under the circumstances, efforts to carry forward the Yanan spirit should center on its essential and regular aspects, such as respecting science, working assiduously to tackle key tasks, making a determined effort to keep forging ahead, the spirit of all-out exertion, and the enterprising spirit. These are to be implemented in the actual work of developing production, raising labor productivity, going after better economic results, and improving the management of enterprises. We must combine the former spirit of all-out exertion which "put the cow to shame" with the characteristics of the present-day world as well as with modern science and technology and modern management, and correct the mistaken idea that the spirit of plain living and hard work is needed only in physical labor but is neither needed nor present in mental labor. Furthermore, in order to develop production and achieve better results, we must also pay attention to the need express the Yanan spirit of plain living and hard work in the party's and government's leadership work and policymaking process. At present, we must vigorously promote and persist in the drive to increase production, practice economy, increase revenue, and reduce expenditure. We must strive to economize on manpower and material and financial resources, improve our work style, improve efficiency, and see to it that plans are strictly adhered to, frugality is strictly practiced, and management is strictly enforced. We must see to it that every leading cadre who is engaged in economic work understands that planned frugality is the

best frugality and that planned waste is the worst waste. If, while calling for plain living, hard work, and austerity, we leave "gaps" in our planning and policies, over-distribute the national income, and use up everything as we did in the past few years, we will be unable to set an example of plain living and hard work for the cadres and the masses. Hence, as far as the promotion and implementation of the Yanan spirit of plain living and hard work are concerned, we not only must rely on media publicity and education but must have the effective protection of state laws, policies, and systems. The specific meaning of the spirit of plain living and hard work should not be restricted to spiritual aspects alone. More important, it should be regarded as a code of action and should be used to control and govern our actions.

Our Shaanxi Province is the birthplace of the Yanan spirit. Our 32 million people and 1.5 million party members have special affection for the Yanan spirit which has nurtured us and led the Chinese revolution from victory to victory. We feel we have the responsibility and duty to carry forward this spirit. We must carry forward the cause pioneered by our predecessors and forge ahead into the future. The burden is heavy and the road is long. The Yanan spirit of plain living and hard work will always inspire us to forge ahead on the great journey of building a modernized and strong socialist country with Chinese characteristics.

Uphold the Party's Basic Line, Exert Ourselves To Develop and Build Xinjiang

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[Article by Song Hanliang, secretary, Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Regional CPC Committee; and Tomur Dawamat, chairman, Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region people's government]

[Text] While Chinese people are celebrating the 41st anniversary of the PRC's founding, people of all nationalities in Xinjiang have also welcomed the 35th anniversary of the autonomous region's founding. In these joyous days, we summarize the past, ponder the future, and are determined to seize still greater victory in developing and building Xinjiang by adhering to the party's basic line under the correct leadership and cordial concern of the Central Committee and State Council.

Xinjiang is located in the Eurasian hinterland with a vast territory and abundant natural resources and has a very important strategic position. It is China's precious tract of land awaiting exploitation and an important base for invigorating China's economic development in the 21st century. Accelerating Xinjiang's exploitation and construction is significant for making Xinjiang prosper as well as for supporting national construction.

Xinjiang realized peaceful emancipation on 25 September 1949, and the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous

Region was founded on 1 October 1955. In the 40 years since its emancipation and the 35 years since the autonomous region's founding, Xinjiang has scored splendid accomplishments in various construction undertakings through the joint efforts of the region's people of various nationalities with the all-out support and the state, other provinces, cities, and autonomous regions under the correct leadership of the Central Committee and State Council. The region has made greater progress in industrial and agricultural production, its economy has prospered, and people's living standards have improved with each passing year. Especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, reform and opening have instilled new vitality into Xinjiang with every arena undergoing profound changes.

—The entire region has enjoyed political and social stability, nationality solidarity, and consolidated border defense, and people of all nationalities live and work in peace and contentment; maintaining the motherland's unification and nationality solidarity has become a good social atmosphere.

—It has enjoyed steady growth in the national economy. Between 1978 and 1989, Xinjiang enjoyed an average annual 10.84-percent increase in its gross national product, an average annual 10.01-percent increase in income, and an average annual 10.9-percent increase in its gross value of industrial and agricultural output; its economic development rate was far higher than the average annual growth rate before reform and opening up, and somewhat higher than the national average annual growth rate over the same period.

—There has been a great increase in industrial and agricultural products, with materials and equipment becoming increasingly abundant with each passing day. In 1989, the region's gross grain output was 6.2308 million tons, up 68.4 percent from 1978, 432.2 kilograms of grain per capita, ranking seventh in the nation, up from 15th place in 1978; gross cotton output was 294,700 tons, up 4.36 times from 1978, 20.5 kilograms of cotton per capita, ranking top in the nation; the number of livestock in stock at yearend 1989 was 34.4703 million head, ranking third in the country up from the original fourth place. The commodity rate of farm and animal husbandry produce reached 62 percent. The region has changed from being self-sufficient in major grain or importing it to having a surplus in major farm products and beginning to transfer grain to other provinces. In 1989, the self-sufficiency rate of industrial products reached 57 percent, thus the region ended its history of depending entirely on imports and transfers from the interior for production materials and articles for daily use.

—Capital construction, especially the building of infrastructure, has been increasingly augmented. Since reform and opening up, fixed-asset investment of the whole society has been 42.6 billion yuan, 2.2 times the total investment of the previous 29 years, with a marked acceleration in the pace of construction.

During that period, 30 large and medium-sized projects were completed and put into production.

—Opening up to the outside world is continuously expanding. Presently, Xinjiang has already established economic relations and trade with some 50 countries and regions, and has imported a large number of projects with foreign investment, while establishing lateral economic ties to 29 provinces, cities, autonomous regions, and 19 ministries and commissions, with 4,743 cooperative projects completed. Moreover, a pattern has initially taken shape with Japan, the United States, the USSR, East Europe, Hong Kong, and Macao as the chief markets, and other countries and regions as supplementary markets. In 1989, Xinjiang's import and export volume was \$486 million, up by 10.3 times from 1982, with some 230 varieties of export goods.

—Financial revenue has increased with each passing year, and the people's living standards have greatly improved. Beginning in 1982, Xinjiang's financial revenue increased by an average annual 100 million yuan for seven consecutive years; in 1988, the increase was some 300 million yuan; in 1989, it was 400 million yuan, a historical high. With economic development, living standards of people of all nationalities have continuously improved. In 1989, the region's per capita income of the farming and herding populace was 545.6 yuan, up by 3.58 times from 1978, and the per capita wage income of the urban populace was 2,007 yuan, up 1.8 times from 1978. Marked accomplishments were scored in eradicating poverty and becoming well off, with the rate of eradicating poverty reaching 77 percent in 1989. Presently, the urban and rural market in the region is brisk, and prices are stable.

—There have been marked accomplishments in educational, science and technology, cultural, and public health undertakings. In 1989, the number of college students on campus was 31,700, the number of intermediate vocational school students was 44,900, and the number of secondary and primary pupils was 2,7353 million; progress was great compared with pre-reform days. The number of scientists and technicians was 217,900 in 1989, up by 1.56 times from 1978. There were also great strides made in cultural, public health, and physical culture undertakings.

—Steady progress has been made in the agricultural and land reclamation undertakings of the Production and Construction Corps, which has scored outstanding accomplishments in the great cause of stationing troops to open up wasteland, construction, safeguarding the frontier, augmenting nationality solidarity, maintaining the motherland's unity, and pushing forward the region's economic and social development. The agricultural and land reclamation undertakings of the Production and Construction Corps have an important place in Xinjiang, and are an important force that guarantees the autonomous

region's social stability, nationality solidarity, and economic development, and safeguards the motherland's unity.

Reviewing the splendid progress of the 40 years since Xinjiang's emancipation and the 35 years since the founding of the autonomous region, and looking forward to Xinjiang's bright future, we have summarized some experiences in order to do a still better job of exploiting and developing Xinjiang as follows:

1. Starting with the actual conditions, firmly implementing the party's line, principles, and policies is the basic guarantee to doing a good job in various work in Xinjiang. Xinjiang is a frontier region where many nationalities reside side by side. In development and construction, it has many things in common with the interior, but its own peculiar conditions. Therefore, it is necessary for us to firmly implement the party's line, principles, and policies, while paying attention to starting with and giving full consideration of the region's actual conditions, closely combining the central spirit with the region's actual conditions, so that the central line, principles, and policies may be implemented in a down-to-earth way.

The 40-year progress since Xinjiang's emancipation has repeatedly proved that the party leadership and socialist system are the sole correct road to common prosperity for all nationalities. We should always adhere to this point. At the same time, party organizations at various levels regionwide should augment party building in a down-to-earth way, educate party members to firmly establish the concept of serving the people of all nationalities heart and soul to continuously reinforce the rallying force and attraction of party organizations. In long-term socialist revolution and construction, party organizations at all levels have formed flesh-and-blood bonds with the people of all nationalities and have become the staunch core of Xinjiang's socialist modernization. Especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, the regional party committee has correctly implemented the party's truth-seeking ideological line, started with the actual conditions, and implemented a series of the party's principles and policies in a comprehensive way, earnestly worked to bring order out of chaos, firmly and resolutely shifted the work focus on economic construction, adhered to the four cardinal principles, persisted in reform and opening up, waged resolute struggle against bourgeois liberalization and national separatism, and safeguarded national solidarity and the motherland's unity. At the same time, it has unremittably conducted party consolidation and rectification of incorrect styles of work, severely punished corruption, augmented the building of clean government, and promoted improvement in party style and social atmosphere. Recently, we earnestly implemented the spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 13th Central Committee and established closer ties between the party and people of all nationalities, and augmented work at

the grassroots, party building, and ideological and political work, while guiding people of all nationalities to march from one victory to another.

2. Opposing nationality separatism with a clear-cut position, unremittably taking good hold of work regarding stability. This is the prerequisite and guarantee for realizing political and social stability in Xinjiang. Historical and realistic experiences fully proved that internal and external nationality separatism is the chief danger to Xinjiang's stability. Especially with Western countries stepping up their pursuit of the "peaceful evolution" strategy in recent years, internal and external nationality separatist forces have stepped up their sabotaging activities in a vain attempt to sabotage nationality solidarity and to split the motherland's unity. Our struggle against nationality separatism is the major form of class struggle in Xinjiang, the struggle between adherence to the four cardinal principles and their opposition, the struggle between maintaining the motherland's unity, nationality solidarity and splitting the motherland's unity, sabotaging nationality solidarity, the struggle between "peaceful evolution" and counter-"peaceful evolution," and the struggle between adherence to social progress and pulling society backward. We must fully understand this struggle's long-term nature and complexity, firmly establish the guiding idea that Xinjiang's chief danger is derived from internal and external separatism, while carrying this struggle unremittably through to the end.

The Central Committee has set forth: "Stability stands above all else." Without stability, the political unity and economic development would be impossible, and all other work would be out of the question. We have firmly set up the guiding idea of grasping stability for a long time, requiring leadership at all levels to make work regarding stability a top priority, with leadership at every tier taking charge, while implementing various measures for stability in a down-to-earth way. Through practice, we have come to see that stability must be grasped constantly by taking precautionary measures while nipping hidden dangers in the bud. It is imperative to implement the party's policy of freedom of religious belief in an all-around way, to augment religious administration in a down-to-earth way, while resolutely cracking down on separatist activities operating under the pretext of religion. At the same time, we have reinforced the formulation of grassroots organizations with rural party cells as the kernel and have intensified ideological and cultural work in the rural areas, thus we have powerfully maintained political and social stability in Xinjiang and created a sound social atmosphere for socialist modernization, reform, and opening up.

3. Developing economic construction in a big way is the material basis for Xinjiang's prosperity. Under the all-out support and help of the state since Xinjiang's emancipation, especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, we have brought forward the spirit of self-reliance and hard work, given full play to the advantages of natural resources, persisted in building

water conservancy works, and augmented infrastructure building, including water, power, and highways, in a planned and step-by-step way, thus laying a solid foundation for the steady and harmonious development of the region's economy and Xinjiang's further exploitation and construction.

Starting with Xinjiang's actual conditions, we have an eye on giving full play to the region's advantages in water and land resources, and have adhered to grasping agriculture as an important strategy. Xinjiang's 40 years of experience show that only if a good job is done in agriculture, will the basic livelihood of people of all nationalities be guaranteed, nationality solidarity and social stability be realized, border defense be consolidated, and the entire economy be developed. Therefore, we have always given agriculture top priority in the region's economic work. We have continuously increased input in farming and herding, relied on science and technology, made full use of Xinjiang's advantages in water, land, light, and heat resources, and seized bumper harvests in farming and herding in 12 consecutive years, with a number of steady and high yielding grain, cotton, sugar, and animal husbandry bases set up, and have laid a solid foundation for turning Xinjiang into China's important farming and herding base. At the same time, we have taken an active part in developing light, textile, and food industries, and other modern industries with mineral products as raw materials, including the oil, petrochemical, saline chemical, metallurgical, power, nonferrous metal, and building materials industries. As a result, Xinjiang's industry has rapidly developed with its strength continuously augmented, and has basically become a rather complete industrial system comprising iron and steel, coal, oil, power, machine-building, chemical, industrial building materials, light, textile, and food industries with Xinjiang's regional characteristics. To further accelerate Xinjiang's exploitation and construction, it is necessary for us to make the use of water and land resources and oil excavation the locomotive, to continue to augment the agriculture's place as the base, and to step up building cotton, grain, sugar, and animal husbandry bases. Xinjiang is China's new strategic region where the petroleum industry gains sustained development. It is imperative to implement the principles of "relying on strong forces of the petroleum industry, depending on social foundations, making overall planning to seek simultaneous development," and, furthermore, to vigorously support the development of petroleum exploitation in order to stimulate overall development of Xinjiang's economy. It is necessary to advocate the cooperative spirit in a big way, establish the concept of taking the whole nation into account, with consideration given to regional economic interests, while doing a good job of economic cooperation between localities.

4. Reform and opening up is the inevitable road to the invigoration of Xinjiang. Reform and opening up is China's basic national policy. Practice in reform and opening up has enabled us to have a clear picture that

there is no way for a region or a nationality to close its door to all international ties for a long period. To develop and make progress, a nationality must adhere to reform and opening up, including opening up to other nationalities in the country, other regions, and foreign countries. Only through reform and opening up will Xinjiang be possible to develop rapidly and realize common prosperity of all nationalities.

In the course of rural and urban economic restructuring and educational, science, and technological reform since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, the autonomous region has paid special attention to conducting propaganda and education in reform and opening up among cadres and people of all nationalities, continuously augmented the sense of reform and opening, and promoted cadres and masses of all nationalities, especially minority nationality cadres and masses to break with the bondage of traditional concepts. In rural areas, we have adhered to implementing the system of contracted household responsibility related to output to give full play to the enthusiasm of farmers and herders, and we have consolidated and stabilized the system of contracted household responsibility related to output. We have, at the same time, taken an active part in spreading the socialized service structure characterized by the "five unifications" (unified planning for planting, unified tractor-plowing and irrigation, unified crop protection, epidemic prevention and important technological measures, unified farmland capital construction, and unified initiation and administration of public welfare undertakings of various descriptions). We have continuously completed and perfected the two-tier managerial structure, gradually changed the old production modes and lifestyle of peasants and herders, and taken an active part in developing socialist commodity production. In urban restructuring, we have continuously deepened enterprise reform to complete and perfect the enterprise managerial mechanism, and augmented the enterprise's vitality to continuously reinforce the strength of the region's economy as a whole, with improving enterprises' economic results as the key. At the same time, the autonomous region has given full play to its advantages in natural resources and geography, exerted itself to open the domestic and overseas market, continuously utilized the advanced technologies and funds of coastal provinces, cities, and autonomous regions, as well as the advantages of the USSR and East Europe in heavy industry and chemical industry to develop Xinjiang's light, textile, and electronic industries and to accelerate the development of Xinjiang's raw materials industry, while gradually realizing the region's unified strategy, "opening up in all directions, introducing investment from abroad, and establishing lateral ties to other parts of the country, establishing lateral ties to eastern provinces while exporting to the West, and importing technology from the West as well as the eastern provinces." That has greatly improved the intensity of exploiting Xinjiang's natural resources, and enabled the autonomous region to gradually shift on the orbit of socialist commodity economy from the original

self-sufficient natural economy. With the Eurasian bridge being put through, from now on, we will further implement reform and opening up, open our gate to the West, and make contributions to China's opening up in all directions.

5. The key to doing a good job of work in Xinjiang is to augment nationality solidarity. Xinjiang is a multinational region; doing a good job of augmenting nationality solidarity is the key to consolidating and developing Xinjiang's political situation of stability and unity, the guarantee to the region's smooth progress of socialist modernization, reform, opening up, and the whole situation that has a vitally important bearing on the basic interests and future of the region's people of all nationalities.

Forty years of practice have proved that, whenever a good job was done in nationality solidarity, there were social stability, consolidated border defense, and progress in economic construction and various undertakings; otherwise, all work suffered setbacks. Therefore, the region's party committees and governments at all levels have always given primary importance to nationality solidarity, given top priority to work in this context, and never relaxed for a moment. In making arrangements for or examining or summarizing work each year, work on nationality solidarity is always included. All departments, trades, and professions in the region are doing work on nationality solidarity, making it permeate all arenas of political, economic, cultural, and social life, while making all items of work serve and be subject to the whole situation of nationality solidarity.

We have adhered to earnestly implementing the party's nationality policy and law on autonomy of nationality regions and have persisted in conducting education in Marxist nationality theory among cadres of all nationalities, so cadres and masses might establish Marxist concepts of nationality and religion, to continuously improve their consciousness in safeguarding nationality solidarity. Cadres at all levels are required to take the lead in doing a good job of nationality solidarity, to persist in adhering to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to observe, analyze, and handle nationality issues, to constantly check conditions of implementation of nationality policy, and to promptly find solutions to existing problems. At the same time, "nationality solidarity month" activities have unfolded in eight consecutive years since 1983; creation of advanced units and individuals were linked to the progressive and mass nature of nationality solidarity so nationality solidarity might be implemented at the grassroots, while making it specific, constant, and institutionalized.

Augmenting solidarity of troops stationed in Xinjiang, production and construction corps, enterprises under central direct jurisdiction, and localities is of particular importance to augmenting nationality solidarity and consolidating border defense and economic development. Over the years, the Army and government, the Army and people, the production and construction

corps, and localities have offered help and support to each other, with their ties becoming increasingly closer and their solidarity being rock firm. The ideas that "the Hans are inseparable from minority nationalities and vice versa," and of "mutual concern and help, mutual trust and understanding" have struck root in the minds of Xinjiang's cadres and masses of all nationalities, and a new type of socialist nationality relations has continued to consolidate and develop.

The Central Committee has all along attached great importance to work concerning Xinjiang and has shown great concern for the region's people of all nationalities. In his recent inspection tour of Xinjiang, Comrade Jiang Zemin made a series of important talks on work regarding Xinjiang. His talks are of importance guidance to doing a good job of work regarding Xinjiang now and in the days to come, while indicating the orientation for our progress. Under the correct leadership of the third generation of collective leadership, with Comrade Jiang Zemin as the core, we are determined to unite as one and work hard to consolidate and develop Xinjiang's fine political and economic situation to make new and still greater contributions to pushing forward Xinjiang's socialist modernization.

A Major Event in China's Efforts To Build Socialist Democracy and a Legal System—On the Official Enforcement of the Law of Administrative Litigation

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[Text] The "PRC Law of Administrative Litigation" (hereinafter referred to as the law of administrative litigation) comes into effect on 1 October. The law of administrative litigation's formulation and enforcement are a major event in China's efforts to build a socialist legal system, as well as an important political step in China's construction of socialist democracy. To conscientiously implement and enforce the law of administrative litigation has an important bearing on protecting the legal rights and interests of citizens, legal persons, and other organizations; on ensuring that the administrative organs exercise their power according to law; on strengthening the construction of an honest government; and on government and people maintaining close relations. Therefore, the people's governments at all levels, and their subordinate departments, must attach great importance to and earnestly do a better job in enforcing the law of administrative litigation.

I

The law of administrative litigation's significance is manifested mainly in the following areas in China's political and social life:

1. The law of administrative litigation is an important legal system providing direct protection for and realizing the people's interests.

To protect the legal rights and interests of citizens, legal persons, and other organizations, and to realize the people's interests are among the primary purposes of the law of administrative litigation. The law of administrative litigation stipulates that a citizen, legal person, or other organization whose legal rights or interests are violated with resulting losses due to an administrative action determined by an administrative organ or the personnel of an administrative organ shall have the right to request compensation; and that if a particular administrative action determined by an administrative organ or personnel of an administrative organ has violated the legal rights or interests of a citizen, legal person, or other organization, the said administrative organ, or the administrative organ employing the said personnel, shall be responsible for paying compensation. Such compensation arising from violation of legal rights and interests of citizens, legal persons, and other organizations by the said particular administrative action is a specific and direct manifestation of what the law protects, and it realizes the people's interests and conforms to the primary purposes of China's laws.

More important, as a legal system providing direct protection for and realizing the people's interests, the law of administrative litigation is also manifested in the aspect that such law becomes another effective channel of readjustment for the party and the government, linking the government to the people.

Under the party's leadership after the founding of the state, the people's governments at all levels enhanced their staff's political quality and their voluntary attitude toward the practice of serving the people. They strengthened their supervision, set up and perfected relevant working systems, and adopted various effective measures for better performing their duties of serving the people, so that the people had confidence in and supported our government.

However, in the wake of continuous development and perfection of socialism, people expect better services from the government, an honest and efficient government, and one that acts according to law. On the other hand, the scope of administrative supervision undertaken by a modern government is so extensive that many economic and social problems emerge for the first time. Inevitably, this causes contradictions between the government organs and the people, and conflicts develop. Moreover, the people abhor the unlawful acts of certain administrative organs or relevant personnel of the administrative organs, such as abuse of power, acts of seeking personal advantages, and acts that infringe on the legal interests of citizens. Thus this requires our government to bring, on the basis of our fine tradition and work style of taking the mass line and listening to their aspirations, all activities of administrative supervision onto the right course of building a system of laws.

This thus makes the government execute its powers of office according to law, and helps the masses use the law to uphold their legal rights and interests; so that relations between the government and the masses will be built on the basis of voluntariness and conscientiousness, and will become more standardized and stable.

2. The law of administrative litigation is an important legal system to make sure that administrative organs execute their powers of office according to law. In China, the people's governments at all levels are subject to supervision by various areas, including supervision by the party, legal supervision over administrative organs, work supervision, judicial supervision, supervision by the masses, supervision by public opinion, and so forth. To administrative organs, judicial supervision is the most significant one of all. Enforcement of the law of administrative litigation indicates that, to a large extent, China's administrative supervision activities are subject to judicial supervision.

The term judicial supervision over administrative organs refers chiefly to supervision over the actions of administrative organs, as well as their personnel, by the people's court through the court's hearing of administrative cases. Its characteristics are basically different from other forms of supervision. First, this kind of supervision may directly produce legal consequences. It is provided in the law of administrative litigation that the people's court may withdraw or partially withdraw an administrative case in the event of insufficient primary evidence, incorrect application of laws or statutes, or particular administrative acts of violation of legal procedure, transgression of authority, or misuse of authority. Moreover, the relevant administrative organs must bear corresponding legal responsibilities, including the payment of compensation to the parties concerned for the economic losses sustained by them arising from such infringing administrative acts. Second, this kind of supervision is a comprehensive one. Any citizen, legal person, or other organization may institute an action at any time provided that he meets the legal requirements. As for administrative organs, an absolute majority of their particular administrative actions fall within the scope of administrative litigation. Thus, we can say that every aspect of administrative supervision may instigate administrative litigation and that administrative organs may become the defendant at any time to stand trial with the plaintiff, that is, the citizens, legal persons, and other organizations, and be subject to an impartial judicial judgment. Therefore, our people's governments at all levels must pay special attention to judicial supervision, while accepting other types of supervision.

3. The law of administrative litigation is an important legal system to uphold the execution by administrative organs of their powers of office in accordance with the law.

The purpose of setting up the system of administrative litigation is not only for the protection of legal rights and

interests of citizens, legal persons, and other organizations, but also for upholding the execution by administrative organs of their powers of office in accordance with the law, and for the improvement of their administrative efficiency. Such an objective of the administrative litigation is determined by the uniformity of the government and the masses' basic interests. This point is expressly reflected by both the legislative content and the judicial practice of the entire law.

Beginning with the legislative content, we can see that every chapter of the law of administrative litigation carries provisions upholding the administrative organs' execution of their powers of office in accordance with the law. For example, in those administrative cases heard by the people's court, there are provisions governing the inquiry into the legality of a particular administrative action, provisions excluding abstract administrative actions and actions over which administrative organs hold final judgment, provisions that most administrative cases must first be subject to administrative reconsideration, provisions that, in the event a citizen, legal person, or other organization fails, within a specified period, to initiate legal proceedings or to comply with a particular administrative action, the administrative organ may undertake forcible execution in accordance with the law, and so forth. These provisions are very important for us to uphold that administrative organs execute their powers of office in accordance with the law and ensure that laws and statutes are strictly enforced.

Proceeding from the judgment of administrative cases heard by the people's court, the people's court must uphold the judgment if there is conclusive evidence supporting the particular administrative actions, and if correct laws or statutes are found to have been applied and legal procedures met. That the people's court upholds a particular administrative action in the form of judicial judgment further proves from the judicial viewpoint the legality, validity, and authoritativeness of such administrative action. This thus makes administrative organs, as well as their personnel, have more confidence in strictly enforcing the law; and makes them eager, with a noble sense of responsibility, to strictly enforce it. This also helps administrative organs, as well as their personnel, further understand how to enforce the law in a legal and valid manner. Moreover, this makes the citizens, legal persons, and other organizations have a better understanding in exercising their rights of litigation and in conducting a particular administrative action in a legal and valid manner; and to understand that it is an important aspect of the state's supervision over economic, social and other affairs, and that everyone must observe and enforce it. In recent judgments in administrative cases, only about 20 percent of all administrative cases heard by the people's court involved judgments made against administrative organs. This not only indicates that the majority of individual administrative actions are legal, but also fully indicates that the people's court upholds according to law those particular lawful administrative actions.

It is worth asking here, when a judgment is made against administrative organs, that is, if a particular administrative action is withdrawn or partially withdrawn by the people's court, does it mean that the law of administrative litigation no longer upholds the administrative organs' authoritativeness, or that their powers of office will be adversely affected? I hold that this is not the case. When a judgment is made against administrative organs, it indicates that a particular administrative action is unlawful. If we do not promptly discover and correct such unlawful administrative actions, it will not only infringe upon the legal rights and interests of citizens, legal persons, and other organizations, but will also hamper relations between administrative organs and the masses. On the other hand, administrative organs will do a still better job in executing their administrative powers of office if they learn their lesson from such judgment, pay more attention to the legality of their particular administrative actions, and establish the thinking of being the public servant.

4. The formulation and enforcement of the law of administrative litigation is a major step in China's efforts to build socialist democratic politics and a legal system.

The CPC Central Committee has repeatedly pointed out that the process of developing a socialist planned commodity economy was also the process of building socialist democratic politics. We should, through reforms, step by step, turn China's socialist democratic politics into a systematic and legal one, and should politically create a more practical socialist democracy on a higher plane. The law of administrative litigation's formulation and enforcement are significant ways to use legal means to build socialist democratic politics. On the one hand, it may open the administrative procedures to the public, so that citizens can have opportunities to fully express their views on the administrative organs' execution of their powers of office, thereby reducing the element of subjectiveness in administrative activities. On the other, we may take remedy according to the law of administrative litigation, when a particular administrative action infringes upon the legal rights and interests of citizens, legal persons, and other organizations. Meanwhile, it helps us establish the thinking that all men are equal before the law.

The law of administrative litigation's formulation and enforcement are major events in China's efforts to build a socialist legal system. It will certainly promote a continuous perfection of the socialist legal system. This is because the law of administrative litigation's establishment objectively requires that all particular administrative organs' administrative actions must be based on the law. This thus requires a yardstick for judging whether an administrative action is legal; a standardized formation of powers of office, the scope and ways of execution; and the formulation of administrative substantive laws to prohibit such individual administrative actions that violate the law, such as misuse of authority and seeking personal advantages. Administrative organs must act

strictly according to the law in order to really enforce the law of administrative litigation. Therefore, administrative organs at all levels must work hard to improve their quality of law enforcement, strengthen judicial supervision over administration, and perfect the supervisory mechanism for enforcing administrative laws. Only thus can we eliminate such unlawful phenomena as transgressing one's authority and arbitrarily levying fines. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the NPC [National People's Congress] and its Standing Committees adopted more than 150 sets of laws and decisions, and the State Council formulated more than 600 sets of administrative laws and regulations. This thus gives the state the necessary legal basis for its activities of administrative supervision. Nevertheless, our work is obviously insufficient in the building of administrative laws, including the organizational setup, limits of authority, and working procedure of administrative organs. There are also many problems in the enforcement of administrative laws. With the law of administrative litigation coming into effect, we may promptly put an end to this situation; make the administrative actions depend more on a standardized, legal and scientific basis; and bring the state's administrative activities onto the right course of building a system of laws.

II

The basic way to further stabilize China's political, economic, and social development is to unswervingly implement the principle of rectification and consolidation, as well as reforming in an in-depth manner. Likewise, it is of immediate significance for us to enforce the law of administrative litigation in order to do a better job in the rectification and consolidation, as well as reforming in an in-depth manner.

By enforcing the law of administrative litigation, we may effectively help administrative organs rely more on the legal means in their work of rectification and consolidation. In order to realize our goals of rectification and consolidation, we need to comprehensively make use of economic, administrative, and legal means. Many of our problems concerning the economic order and environment are not only economic problems, but are also related to law. If we have no laws to rely on, it is inevitable that there will be economic chaos. For example, to a large extent, the recent chaos in the circulation channels was related to our imperfect laws and regulations on circulation. The widespread phenomenon of unfair competition was related to the absence of laws prohibiting unfair competition. There will also be economic chaos if we fail to rely on law. For example, to a certain extent, the growth in number of companies, which was complained about a lot in society, was directly related to our failure to strictly enforce the regulations on the registration of enterprise legal persons.

A direct objective of the law of administrative litigation is to help government work rely on laws. Therefore, by enforcing the law of administrative litigation, we may

directly promote progress in China's legislative work, help turn the government's work into a standardized and legalized one, and help administrative organs make more use of legal means in their work of rectification and consolidation. Our experience has shown that the law of administrative litigation is a legal system upholding and supervising the execution according to law of particular administrative actions by administrative organs. It also helps us implement in a better way various effective measures for rectification and consolidation, discover and rectify various types of unlawful administrative actions that are unfavorable to the work of rectification and consolidation, and check those countermeasures adopted by the lower level against the policies adopted by the upper level.

Enforcing the law of administrative litigation helps us create a sound social environment for rectification and consolidation. At present, the masses complain a lot about the phenomena of bureaucratism, corruption, and misuse of authority, which exist in varying degrees among administrative organs. In addition, there are still contradictions in society because of various factors, such as temporary economic difficulties; there is still a market for bourgeois liberalization thinking; and there are still problems concerning the social security. We must seriously study and think about how to solve these contradictions, create a good social environment for making a stable economic development, and improve and maintain close relations between the party and the masses, and between the government and the masses. To enforce the law of administrative litigation is an effective way to maintain close relations between administrative organs and the masses and to boost the prestige of these organs. This is because the system of administrative litigation may, on the one hand, urge administrative organs to execute their powers of office according to law, to improve their work style, and to reduce contradictions, so that we can prevent possible trouble. On the other hand, it may, through judicial procedures, effectively solve those contradictions that have developed, so that we are able to solve them whenever they develop. This is very necessary for us to create a good social environment for the work of rectification and consolidation.

With the law of administrative litigation's enforcement, administrative organs may make better use of their administrative authority, thereby providing significant conditions for doing a better job in rectification and consolidation. In order to accomplish the arduous and complicated task of rectification and consolidation, we need to use administrative means and stress the administrative authority's functions, in addition to comprehensively making use of other means. Our experience in rectification and consolidation in the past two years has indicated that this is necessary. Thus, we should continue to give play to its roles in this respect. Nevertheless, by stressing the administrative authority's functions, I do not mean that any kind of administrative authority may be misused or may be executed without examination. Phenomena such as committing transgressions in

levying fines, arbitrarily levying fines, committing bureaucratic and corrupt acts, which the masses complain much about, are the major factors in a chaotic economic order, for damaging the authoritativeness of administrative organs, and for undermining stability of society. It is just such phenomena that we must eliminate through rectification and consolidation as well as through in-depth reform. Therefore, we may say that, in the work of rectification and consolidation, to stress unity and centralization, strict enforcement of orders and prohibitions, resolutely overcoming corruption, and so forth means that we stress the execution of administrative authority in a legal and effective manner. Furthermore, the law of administrative litigation's enforcement may help administrative organs execute their powers of office according to law, and improve their efficiency. Undoubtedly, this is of great significance for the purpose of correctly and effectively giving play to the administrative functions in rectification and consolidation.

III

In order to do a better job in enforcing the law of administrative litigation, in addition to helping administrative organs and their working personnel, particularly their leading cadres, have a better understanding of the law of administrative litigation's significance, we must grasp firmly the following specific work.

—We should strengthen the legislative work of formulating laws corresponding to the law of administrative litigation, so as to provide the necessary legal basis for the activities of administrative supervision. This is an important condition to guarantee that the law of administrative litigation will be smoothly enforced. At present, the State Council is formulating laws governing administrative reconsideration, administrative compensation, administrative punishment, forcible execution of administration, and measures for working out rules and regulations. Once such laws and regulations are promulgated, it is inevitable that they will provide great assistance in enforcing the law of administrative litigation. While we strengthen the law of administrative litigation's enforcement, we must strengthen the formulation of other laws, rules, and regulations on administrative activities. This includes the formulation of laws, rules, and regulations in line with the realities of the local region or their own departments as well as the need for administrative supervision; the formulation of implementing rules or detailed rules governing the formulation of laws and rules to ensure the enforcement of such laws and regulations; and so forth. At present, we must particularly firmly grasp the work of checking the particular administrative actions. We must promptly formulate laws, rules, and regulations to standardize any particular administrative actions that have no legal basis but should be maintained.

A point that is worth mentioning is that when we formulate laws and regulations corresponding to the law

of administrative litigation, as well as other laws, rules, and regulations, we must act strictly within our limits of authority provided in the Constitution and in the laws and regulations. In order to maintain the solemnness and consistency of socialist laws, we must resolutely eliminate any phenomena of unlawfully formulating one's own rules and regulations, arbitrarily levying fines, and so forth.

—We should strictly enforce administrative laws and strive to improve the quality of enforcement. The enforcement of administrative laws is an important duty of administrative organs and a major administrative action subject to judicial supervision. In order to strictly enforce and strive to improve the quality of administrative laws, we must strengthen the supervision and examination of the work of enforcing such laws. They should always bear in mind the legality of enforcement, promptly put an end to the situation in which they arbitrarily levy fines, levy fines without authorization, "substitute criminal punishment with fines," and interfere with the enforcement of laws. Law enforcement departments must enforce laws strictly according to their statutory authority and procedures. When social organizations exercise their rights to enforce administrative laws, they must have the statutory authorization and entitlement. When handling cases in which criminal responsibility must be determined, the relevant organs enforcing administrative laws must submit them to the judicial organs. They are prohibited from "substituting fines for criminal punishment." Leading cadres must take the lead in handling matters according to law, and earnestly support and uphold the enforcement of administrative laws by administrative organs and their personnel. Governments at all levels must strengthen their supervision over the their subordinates' enforcement activities. At the same time, they should firmly grasp the work of building a system of law enforcement, and promptly rationalize the relations among different departments responsible for enforcing administrative laws, expressly clarifying their own limits of authority. Furthermore, they should earnestly do a better job in coordinating the work of law enforcement, so as to avoid duplication or the shirking of responsibility.

In strictly enforcing administrative laws, we must attach importance to the efficiency of enforcement. At present, some organs and personnel responsible for law enforcement turn a blind eye to unlawful actions or reduce the amount of fines levied, because they are afraid to be a respondent, or are worried that the court would rule against them. We must pay attention to such failure to strictly enforce laws. For this reason, we must, on the one hand, comprehensively and precisely publicize the law of administrative litigation, and must strengthen according to law the right to enforce administrative laws. On the other hand, we must strengthen supervision over law enforcement personnel, introduce a responsibility system, clarify job duties, and conduct strict assessment and supervision.

In order to strictly enforce and improve the quality of the enforcement of administrative laws, we must also devote major efforts to building a rank of law enforcement personnel. We must resolutely and unremittently conduct ideological education and education in laws and policies among and professional training for law enforcement personnel. At the same time, we must strengthen the system of assessing, appointing, and supervising them as well as their responsibility system, so as to improve their quality and purify the ranks.

—We should promptly perfect organizations in charge of administrative reconsideration and give full play to this system. The system of administrative reconsideration can effectively settle administrative disputes, so as to promptly remedy the legal rights and interests of the citizens, legal persons, and other organizations. Furthermore, it can better achieve the superior organs' supervision of the subordinate ones, and reduce the occurrence of unlawful or improper administrative actions. Since China has just introduced the reconsideration system, in particular, we are still worried about various aspects of the system; the present system is far from satisfactory. A person cannot locate a special department to apply for reconsideration. There is no person assigned the special task of handling such cases, and there are no procedures concerning reconsideration. We must promptly end this situation. This thus requires us to promptly perfect the reconsideration organizations, and earnestly do a better job in this respect.

—We should really grasp the work of being the respondent. To become a good respondent is an important aspect of enforcing the law of administrative litigation. Whether or not we are a good respondent directly affects the result of administrative litigation, and our administrative work in the future. There were cases where administrative organs did their work correctly in some administrative cases. However, the court did not rule in favor of them because their respondents were not familiar with the business, did not have relevant legal knowledge, or were inexperienced in court, so they could not express in a justified manner the administrative organs' demands. Therefore, the court did not rule in favor of the organs. Even if the court ruled in their favor, the audience of the court would hold that the court and the organs were shielding each other. Despite the fact that this is not often the case, it is a typical situation, indicating that being a good respondent is very important and professional work. The personnel in question must be experienced in such skills, must be familiar with the administrative business, and understand the law. Administrative organs must grasp well the work of being a good respondent, must grasp firmly the training and selection of relevant personnel, and do well in appointing their attorney of litigation.

Socialism's Inevitable Replacement of Capitalism Must Go Through a Tortuous Historical Process

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[Text] The inevitable replacement of capitalism by socialism is an objective law of social development revealed by Marxism. It is the natural trend of social development. However, there have been some new changes in the present world situation. In the first place, in the wake of the application of new technology to social production sectors and the introduction of measures aimed at easing contradictions in capitalist society, some developed capitalist countries remain relatively stable and have been enjoying a degree of development. In the second place, the socialist movement has been faced with twists and turns or even setbacks in its development process. In the face of such circumstances, some people have cast doubt about and wavered in their conviction that socialism is bound to win and capitalism is bound to be defeated. Meanwhile, some hostile forces declared that "socialism's attempt and failure is a great part of the heritage of the 20th century." Therefore, how to view the social development law that socialism will replace capitalism and the difficulties and setbacks in the socialist movement has become a real practical problem before us, the answer to which has yet to be found, in terms of both theory and practice.

1. Socialism Has Encountered Setbacks and Difficulties in Its Development Process

Socialism's replacement of capitalism is an inevitable historical development trend, and great successes have indeed been achieved in the socialist system's establishment and development. However, the socialist system's establishment is, after all, the most profound revolution in human history. This newborn social system, which is still immature and imperfect, can mature and be perfected only through complicated, arduous, and tortuous struggle, unrelenting reform, and continuous accumulation of experience. This is how things are.

An earthshaking event took place in 1871—the Paris Commune was founded. This was the first working-class regime ever established in the international communist movement. Although the Paris Commune was overthrown only 72 days after its founding by the reactionary forces' bloody suppression, the setback finally revealed to the working class "a political form that makes labor's economic liberation possible," and, "after all, this was the first revolution in which the working class was widely acknowledged as the only class playing the pioneering role in social affairs."¹

After the Paris Commune, socialist political parties and organizations were established one after another in Europe and the United States, enabling Marxism to be further combined with the massive workers movement. The international communist movement had made new

advances by the early 1890's. With the help of Marx and Engels and working-class support, the German Social Democratic Party successfully forced the ruling circle to rescind the "Emergency Law" after arduous struggle, and thus won legal status for itself. The French Workers Party had achieved great successes in the parliamentary struggle. Belgian and Austrian socialists had led the masses in their struggle for universal suffrage and improvement of working conditions. The Italian workers' movement was brought under the guidance of a socialist program, and an all-Italy Socialist Party was founded in 1892. In East Europe, socialism began to spread among the advanced strata of the working class; and the working-class parties which were equipped with party programs formulated on Marxist theory were founded one after another in Bulgaria, Romania, Poland, and other East European countries. However, while the communist movement was forging ahead, the late 19th century saw the first low tide in the international communist movement's history. In 1895, Engels, the leader of the Second International, died. The right opportunists within the Second International, headed by Bernstein, openly advocated the revision of Marxism under the pretext that the times had changed. As opportunism spread unchecked, most leaders and most political parties of the Second International betrayed the revolution and the proletariat.

Difficulties and setbacks make those weak-willed and shortsighted people lose their Marxist stance and socialist bearings, but they also provide steadfast Marxists with experience, both positive and negative. When the international communist movement was facing setbacks, the Russian Marxists, with Lenin as their representative, lead the October Revolution to victory in 1917; they founded the Soviet Union, the first socialist country of the world; and they realized the great historical switch that turned socialism from an ideal into something real.

The socialist system's development course, like other new things, will by no means be smooth sailing. As soon as it was born, the socialist system created fear and hatred by imperialism. International imperialism, in collusion with reactionary forces at home, vainly tried to eliminate the Soviet regime by armed force. So the Soviet Government had to tell the people: "The socialist motherland is in peril!" Anyway, thanks to the socialist movement's vitality, the newborn socialism finally defeated the imperialists' joint efforts to nip it in the bud and thus extricated itself from dire peril.

Under the influence of the October Revolution, Soviet republics were established one after another in Germany, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. These republics were also attacked by reactionary forces. After a series of twists and turns, socialist states were founded throughout East Europe in the 1940's. At the same time, a number of socialist states, including China and Korea, were born one after another. So socialism saw victory in quite a few countries after its first triumph in a country.

History runs a tortuous course itself, and socialism as a movement develops through twists and turn. For the moment, the international communist movement has arrived at a low tide. During this period the socialist movement is full of turbulences and is facing the danger of disintegration. Some socialist countries have undergone dramatic changes in the last one or two years in particular. So we are now faced with the problem of how to view and deal with the new twists and turns in the contemporary socialist movement.

Historical facts have shown us such a process—the communist movement has made every advance by overcoming difficulties and tiding over twists and turns, and every major setback is followed by a great leap forward in the socialist revolution and construction. The international communist movement's setback due to Bernstein was followed by the socialist ideal's victory after twists and turns; and the imperialists' joint efforts to nip in the bud the newborn socialist country led to the spread of socialism's triumph from a single country to a number of countries. This showed us that socialism's inevitable replacement of capitalism is linked to the tortuous nature of socialism's development process; and the twists and turns in socialism's development are only a normal phenomenon in the course of a new thing's growth. Although the imperialists' strategy of peaceful evolution has caused setbacks or disasters in some socialist countries today, who dares to say categorically before the law of history that the socialist movement, because of the present setbacks, can make no more progress and achieve no new leap forward.

2. The Historical Trend of Socialism's Inevitable Replacement of Capitalism as Viewed From the Causes for the Setbacks

The contemporary socialist movement is now encountering difficulties and setbacks. Bourgeois defenders and those elements advocating bourgeois liberalization at home have raised a great fuss about this, deliberately spreading confusion over the issue of the inevitable trend and twists and turns of historical development. In order to distinguish clearly between right and wrong and to strengthen our confidence in the historical trend by which socialism is bound to win, we must first of all discover the real causes of the difficulties and setbacks in socialism's development.

The first cause: Social history's development itself is a gradual and tortuous process, which also applies to the historical process of socialism's development. Lenin said, "It goes counter to dialectics and science and it is theoretically incorrect to imagine the history of the world to have smooth sailing, free from an occasional great leap forward or backward."² Every advance in human history and every evolution of the social system is the result of tortuous struggle. Every newborn social system must undergo a development process from immaturity to maturity and from imperfection to perfection. It was in this way that the feudal system replaced the slave-owning system and capitalism replaced the feudal

system. The British bourgeois revolutions began in 1640. But after the king's defeat came the 1660 restoration of the old court. And the bourgeois dictatorship was not stabilized in Britain until the bourgeois political party, by means of a coup d'état, ushered in a British king, who brought with him a navy and an army from the Netherlands in 1688. A bourgeois revolution broke out in France in 1789, but the Third Republic was founded in France only in 1870, which enabled the bourgeoisie to keep the country under its rule. The 81 years between the two years saw two attempts to restore the autocratic monarchy. A federal republic was founded in the United States in 1787, marking the establishment of a bourgeois regime. But 74 years later, in 1861, the Civil War broke out in the United States. To safeguard the slave-owning system that enslaved the blacks, the slaveholders in the South launched a rebellion against the republic. The war did not subside and the U.S. bourgeois regime was not consolidated until 1865. The struggle to terminate the autocratic monarchy that lasted for more than 2,000 years also underwent numerous twists and turns. The revolution that took place on 10 October 1911 overthrew the monarchy, but in less than two years, from December 1915 to July 1917, China witnessed two restoration attempts engineered by Yuan Shikai and Zhang Xun, respectively. History is such a tortuous process that it is independent of man's will. It took about 200 to 300 years for the capitalist system as a whole to mature after its birth. If we count from the rudiments of capitalist relations of production within feudal society down to the domination of the world by this kind of production relations, the whole period would be 500 to 600 years. Throughout this long period there were struggles between the progressive and reactionary forces, between the republic and the monarchy, and between the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary terrors, and there were civil wars and external wars, conquering and surrendering, as well as restoration and counterrestoration. The bourgeois revolution and the capitalist system's growth and maturing still had to undergo such a long process of tortuous and complicated struggle even though they merely involved the replacement of one kind of exploiting relations and private ownership with another. Now that the process of socialism replacing capitalism is a process of replacing private ownership with public ownership, it is bound to be a much more profound transformation than that for the replacement of one exploiting system with another, and it will also involve much more arduous tasks. History's gradual and tortuous nature determines that the newborn socialist system will inevitably undergo a difficult and tortuous growth process. As Mao Zedong put it, "It is sheer fantasy to imagine that the cause of socialism is all smooth sailing and easy success, with no difficulties or setbacks, or without the exertion of tremendous effort."³

The second cause: The nature and tasks of socialist revolution and construction and socialism's position in the history of human society's development determine

the tortuous nature of socialist development. The proletariat's revolution is different from that of the bourgeoisie. By seizing power, the proletariat has merely finished the first step of its long, long march, and it still has a long, long way to go. The historical mission that the proletariat is shouldering is very lofty and magnificent but very arduous and complicated. In the course of socialist revolution and construction, we are to eliminate the exploiting system and classes; develop the productive forces to the maximum; achieve labor productivity that is still higher than what capitalism has ever achieved; enhance cultural and educational standards; build up a new society enjoying a high degree of prosperity, democracy, and civilization; transform the traditional concepts that have been handed down over several thousand years; realize genuine social equality and justice; and thus create the material and spiritual conditions for the fulfillment of mankind's lofty ideal—the communist society. Therefore, socialism is a cause without precedent, "a new cause for which one can never find a match in any book or in history."⁴ In our efforts to build socialism, we have no experience that can be taken for reference nor successful examples that can be copied. Therefore, it is hard for us to avoid faults and mistakes in the development process. By the way, Marxism maintains that socialism is merely the initial stage of communist society. This historical role of socialism determines that "it bears the economic, moral, and spiritual traces of the old society from which it originates."⁵ Socialism is always vulnerable to attack and resistance by these remnants of the old society and by the residues of old systems and forces as well. On the other hand, the socialist system practiced by existing socialist countries was developed out of the old society's ruins and on the base of a backward economy and culture. Therefore, we need to make greater efforts to promote the productive forces, to change and readjust the relations of production, to constantly accumulate experience, and to improve ourselves. In this process, socialism will not only encounter setbacks and difficulties, but will even suffer retrogression in certain areas.

The third cause: The longstanding structural anomalies have slowed or stagnated the development of socialism. In addition, because of faults and mistakes some countries have made in policies and in the reform, socialism's superiority has not been brought into full play. In the 1980's, some socialist countries were even faced with economic crises, loss of control over commodity prices, or serious inflation. In 1989, the inflation rate soared to as high as 1,000 percent in some countries and the people's living standards declined to the level of the mid 1960's; some countries' GNP declined, with their average GNP growth rate dropping from 6.4 percent in 1950-1980 to less than 1 percent in the 1980's; some countries suffered negative economic growth; some countries, which had always survived on foreign loans, were heavily in debt—statistics show that their per capita share of foreign debt is as high as \$2,000. In the face of a debt crisis, these countries can hardly pay back the debts or even the interest alone. As the economic

situation is deteriorating, the people's living standards are declining, which has aroused grievances among the public. Antisocialist forces have used the public's grievances to stir up chaos and thus brought about political crises.

The fourth cause: The impact that hostile forces have made on socialism by applying their strategy and means of peaceful evolution. After realizing that they cannot wipe out the socialist system by force, the anticommunist and antisocialist forces in developed Western capitalist countries began to focus on the application of peaceful evolution in stepping up their full-scale offensive against socialist countries, with a view to defeating the latter without fighting a war. They have made great efforts to foster opposition forces in communist-ruled countries, in the hope of preparing opposition parties to compete with the communist parties in these countries. At the same time, by using funds, loans, and other economic means, they have forced some socialist countries that are heavily in debt to accept some political conditions that will favor the growth of anticommunist and antisocialist forces. Since the second half of 1989, the peaceful evolution strategy has succeeded in some socialist countries. Facts show that the peaceful evolution strategy practiced by those hostile forces has been very destructive to socialism.

The fifth cause: Some ruling proletarian political parties have slackened their own efforts for self-development and they have been suffering from some negative internal corrupt phenomena. An analysis of the contemporary socialist movement's tortuous nature shows that there are many contributing factors for the tortuousness, but the most direct and immediate factor is that some problems exist regarding the self-development of ruling parties in some socialist countries. The main problems are that corrupt practices have prevailed within these parties; leading cadres have indulged in privileges, some have sought personal interests through official power, and some have been involved in graft and bribery. As a result, the parties are seriously divorced from the masses. In addition, because these parties have committed some mistakes in their work, and, in particular, they no longer conduct education in Marxism among the masses, they have seen their prestige declining remarkably and have been losing their fighting strength. All these serve as conditions encouraging foreign hostile forces to collaborate with the antiparty and antisocialist forces and to push for peaceful evolution in these countries.

However, the causes for the setbacks in socialism's development do not imply the doom of socialism, because internal causes, not external ones, are what determine the nature, prospects, and fate of a matter. In fact, so long as the communist parties in socialist countries can keep themselves strong, strengthen internal unity, maintain flesh-and-blood ties to the masses, adopt lines and policies that conform to their national conditions and the objective law, and steadfastly struggle with domestic and foreign hostile forces, they will certainly be able to frustrate all subversive attempts by domestic and

foreign hostile forces, overcome all difficulties, tide over all crises, and unrelentingly push ahead the socialist cause.

As for capitalism, it is bound to be replaced by socialism. This is an objective law independent of man's will. This law of history is the inherent and basic cause which determines that socialism is bound to win and capitalism is doomed to fail. The two basic points of this law of history remain valid today. The first basic point is that the relations of production must conform to the level of productive forces. In modern times, productive forces have reached a pretty high level characterized by the productive forces' socialization. The socialized productive forces bear a revolutionary nature in that they repel private ownership but demand public ownership. Although the bourgeoisie has adopted some measures, such as the policy of state interference, to mitigate the contradiction between socialized mass production and the private ownership of capital, it has failed and will not be able to solve the contradiction once for all. Eventually, the development of the socialized productive forces will inevitably dominate and squeeze out the capitalist private ownership of production means, ushering in the public ownership of production means which conforms to the socialized productive forces. Since the socialized productive forces' revolutionary nature is independent of man's will, socialism's replacement of capitalism is an inevitable historical trend also independent of man's will. The second basic point is the existence of the proletariat—the socialized productive forces' most advanced representative. The proletariat is the only class that stands up to the advanced big industrial production and has the class characteristics demanding public ownership. The proletariat originated from capitalist production and will not vanish because of the policy adjustment effected by the modern bourgeoisie, the application of advanced technology, or improved living standards. As long as it exists, the proletariat will serve as the bourgeoisie's gravedigger. The historical law that socialism will inevitably replace capitalism is always pushing human society forward, with the revolutionary nature of the socialized productive forces and the strength of the advanced class that represents the socialized productive forces. As Lenin put it, "socialism is not the outcome of illusionists' imagination, but the ultimate goal and natural result of the development of the productive forces in modern society."⁶

Setbacks and difficulties in socialism's development cannot change the historical law that socialism will inevitably replace capitalism. But this does not mean that the tortuous nature of the process will not harm the socialist revolution and construction. Therefore, there is every reason for us to pay much attention to setbacks and difficulties in socialism's development, and do our utmost to avoid setbacks and overcome difficulties. At the same time, we must never lose confidence in socialism's future and fate simply because of the setbacks and difficulties we are facing. In fact, even the author of *The Great Failure* admitted in the preface to his book that

"the 20th century has been the era featuring communism's rise and dominance"; communism, "as an option, has won support and created a dream among hundreds of millions of people, promising them hope." Even today, while socialism is experiencing a low tide, he could not but note, "Communism's reform in China is very likely to succeed." "Only in China does the ongoing development seem to forecast communism's revival." Even those hostile to socialism are worried about the still hopeful "revival" of communism at a moment when socialism is in trouble. What grounds are there for us to regard the setbacks and difficulties in socialism's development as socialism's doom?

3. China Has Chosen and Developed Socialism Despite Twists and Turns, in Accordance With the Historical Law

The greatest historical event in China that displayed the law of socialism's inevitable replacement of capitalism is that China chose socialism more than 40 years ago and has built and enriched socialism amid twists and turns over the past 40 years. As far as socialism's triumph over capitalism is concerned, China's case is different from others and bears its own distinct characteristics.

—In establishing the socialist system, China does not mean to start a bourgeois revolution after the full development of capitalism in the country, but to carry out a people's democratic revolution aimed at socialism under the CPC's leadership. The Chinese people first defeated feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism at home and then the foreign imperialists, thus frustrating the imperialists' attempt to throw China into darkness again. In China, socialism's replacement of capitalism is directly reflected in the struggle by the CPC to play the leading role in fulfilling the bourgeois democratic revolution process and replacing bureaucrat capitalist and imperialist rule with the socialist system.

—After the PRC's founding, with the newborn regime's power, our party carried out the socialist transformation of agriculture, the handicraft industry, and capitalist industry and commerce. The transformation of the national capitalist industry and commerce, in particular, was "a transformation that achieved the switch from capitalism to socialism through state capitalism."⁷ This kind of transformation was basically completed in 1956, thus socialist ownership relations with public ownership as the main part were established. At the same time, society's productive forces developed rapidly, the socialist public ownership of production means replaced capitalist private ownership step by step, and the preparatory stage for industrialization, which took the bourgeoisie several decades or even a century to complete, was fulfilled in a relatively short period. Through the socialist transformation of agriculture, the handicraft industry, and capitalist industry and commerce, China established the socialist system's initial form. In this respect, China's road was different from the process that the

Soviet Union had experienced and what other socialist countries had taken. It bears distinct Chinese characteristics.

However, in establishing the socialist system, China also underwent a tortuous historical process. When the Chinese Communists made up their mind to "follow the Russian road," the Chinese feudal comprador force and bureaucratic capitalist force and the imperialists regarded the Chinese Communist movement as a monster. In 1927 Chiang Kai-shek and his ilk launched a counterrevolutionary coup d'état and employed a fascist terrorist policy against the communists and the revolutionary masses. By this policy they "would rather kill a thousand people wrongfully than let a single person escape." The first revolutionary civil war's failure resulted in a major setback for the Chinese revolution. After the 1 August Nanchang Uprising, the CPC built its first revolutionary base in Jinggang Shan through armed struggle. However, rounded up by the reactionary forces, the CPC was forced to give up this foothold of the soviet regime and began the 25,000-li Long March in October 1934. At the Long March's end, the Red Army's forces were reduced from several hundred thousand to 30,000. This was another major setback in our struggle to establish socialism. Despite the tough situation and harsh conditions, these 30,000 troops fought hard and led the revolution to another climax. They later plunged into the anti-Japanese war and the liberation war, survived numerous setbacks, and finally founded the PRC in October 1949. This showed that setbacks did not change the historical law that socialism is bound to win and that it was amid setbacks that China chose socialism, in accordance with the law of history.

Looking at historical facts, one can see that China has also overcome setbacks in building and developing socialism as it did in choosing socialism.

In the initial period after the PRC's founding, the U.S. imperialists launched the aggressive war against Korea in the hope of annexing the whole of Korea, invading China, and dominating the Far East. The war was extended into the northeast of China. Under the threat of war, we "resisted the U.S. aggressors, aided Korea, and defended our country." We finally defeated the U.S. imperialists.

After the establishment of the socialist system, we committed a mistake in socialist construction during the Great Leap Forward, which resulted in the destruction of society's productive forces. What is more, the Great Cultural Revolution, which was launched later, brought China's socialist economy to the verge of collapse. We also suffered from rash advance, the practice of developing large collective communes, the unitary operational mechanism, hidebound structure, the erroneous line of "taking class struggle as the key link," and so on. In consequence, our socialist system's inherent superiority failed to work normally, and we encountered many setbacks in the development of socialism.

Fortunately, our party awoke from setbacks and braced up from dire straits. Our party has led the Chinese people in summing up historical experience and has taken action to set wrong things to right. By bringing the socialist system's self-improvement mechanism into play, we have introduced the policy of reform and opening up, and thus opened a road for socialist construction with Chinese characteristics. This is a road for the development of socialism in China. But our way ahead is not clear of obstacles and again we have encountered two main setbacks. In the economic field, we have been too eager for success and undertaken too many projects at one time; in the political field, a tendency to blur the demarcation line between capitalism and socialism has prevailed, the productive force criterion has been vulgarized, and, in particular, as the trend of bourgeois liberalization has spread unchecked, a turbulence and rebellion broke out between the spring and summer of 1989. Anyway, the great vitality of socialism, which is bound to triumph over capitalism, has enabled the CPC and the Chinese people to withstand all the twists and turns and develop socialism in their way forward.

During the more than 40 years since the PRC's founding, we have not only laid down a socialist economic foundation on the ruins of war and built up our superstructure, but we have also made substantial progress in socialist construction over the past 10 years or more through reform and opening up. China's GNP was merely 55.7 billion yuan in 1949, but it increased to 1,401.5 billion yuan in 1988, ranking China eighth in the world. To be sure, China has a large population and therefore a relatively low per capita GNP. But 1,401.5 billion yuan is more than 25 times as much as 55.7 billion yuan, while the population has only been more than doubled. Thus, one can see that China's GNP growth rate has been much higher than its population growth rate, and only the socialist system can achieve such a high economic growth rate. In the past, China was contemptuously called "the sick man of East Asia," but today, as revealed by a survey conducted by the relevant state organ, China ranks 57th among other countries in terms of the population's quality standards. Nowadays, the Chinese people's living standards, health, education level, and average life span are all higher than those in countries with medium-level income, which ranks China between 43d and 65th in the world. In brief, in the long and tortuous process of revolution and construction, China has not only chosen socialism but has also built a socialism with Chinese characteristics and developed the socialist cause. Twists and turns are nothing to be feared, the most fearful thing is that we may get lost in the face of twists and turns, and be unaware of tortuousness as an inevitable accompanying phenomenon. It is in a long and tortuous historical process that the rule of socialism's inevitable replacement of capitalism takes effect.

Historical achievements have told us that the view that "the establishment of socialism in China was a historical misunderstanding" is one which disrespects the law of

history. Therefore, this view is absolutely wrong. Under the socialist system we surely can fulfill faster and better our task for the development of productive forces. In this regard, we have achieved a widely acknowledged success. The 1990 *World Development Report*, published by the World Bank on 16 July 1990, predicted that in the 1990's China's economic growth rate will be higher than the average level that East Asia and some developed industrialized countries are expected to achieve. The average economic growth rate and per capita economic growth rate for East Asia in the 1990's will be 6.6 and 5.1 percent, respectively; those for East European countries will be 1.9 and 1.5 percent, respectively; the average economic growth rate for developed industrialized countries in the 1990's will be 3 percent; while China's average economic growth rate and per capita economic growth rate will be 6.8 and 5.4 percent, respectively. These data show, to a certain extent, that the socialist system has opened up broad vistas for the full development of productive forces. We should grasp this development trend in our socialist construction, carrying forward our cause, and forging ahead into the future; we should try our best to promote social stability, reduce twists and turns, and constantly push forward the socialist cause in China.

In realizing socialism's replacement of capitalism as a tortuous historical process, our purpose is to keep our heads clear in our struggle against capitalism and to strengthen our confidence in socialism's sure victory over capitalism. Although modern capitalism has shown some "new developments" and "new changes" while socialism has encountered some setbacks in its process of development, capitalism is, after all, a declining old system and socialism a growing new system. "Nothing in this world can save capitalism from crumbling."⁸ Socialism is bound to replace capitalism anyhow.

Footnotes

1. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 2, pp. 378, 379.
2. *Selected Works of Lenin*, Volume 2, p. 851.
3. Mao Zedong: "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People."
4. *Selected Works of Lenin*, Volume 3, p. 422.
5. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 3, p. 10.
6. *Selected Works of Lenin*, Volume 1, p. 86.
7. Mao Zedong: "The Only Road for the Transformation of Capitalist Industry and Commerce."
8. *Collected Works of Lenin*, Volume 32, p. 488.

Socialist China Advancing in Giant Strides

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[Article by the General Department, State Statistics Bureau, arranged by Zhang Zhongji (4545 6988 1015)]

[Text] A New Chapter in the Story of the Great Land of China

Under the leadership of the CPC and the people's government, in the 41 years since the founding of the PRC, the people of all nationalities in our country have, through arduous struggle, created world-recognized achievements and written a new chapter in the history of the growth and development of the Chinese nation. A new socialist China, which has achieved initial prosperity, is arising in the East.

New developments have been made in economic construction day after day. Since the establishment of New China, that state has, in a planned way, carried out economic construction on a huge scale. From 1950 to 1989, the total value of fixed assets investment in whole-people ownership units was 2.4073 trillion yuan, 4,488 large or medium-sized projects were built and put into production and the value of new fixed assets totaled 1.6798 trillion yuan. This laid a quite firm material and technological base for the development of the social productive forces, readjustment of the overall layout of production, and improvement of people's lives.

In the area of industrial construction, the value of industrial fixed assets grew from 12.4 billion yuan in 1949 to 1.2474 trillion yuan in 1989, an increase of close to 100 times. Over the last 41 years, the production capacities of the coal, electricity, metallurgical and textile industries have grown by from several times to tens of times. At the same time, new industrial sectors, including the vehicle, tractor, aircraft, electronics, oil, petrochemical, aerospace, and nuclear industries, have been established. Today we have already established a fairly independent industrial system with a quite complete range of industries. The overall layout of industry has seen some improvement and in the broad areas of heartland and the regions where the minority nationalities are centered, a number of new industrial bases have been established.

In the area of agriculture and irrigation, good results have been achieved in the harnessing of major rivers, over 170,000 kilometers of dikes and levees have been newly built, and over 80,000 reservoirs have been built, with a capacity of 461.7 billion cubic meters. Thereby, the damage from ordinary flooding has been controlled. The area of effectively irrigated agricultural fields has been expanded to 44.92 million hectares. Agricultural machinery has developed from a situation where it did not exist to the situation today where the total power of agricultural machinery is 280.7 billion watts. The area of land being cultivated through mechanized farming measures 42.59 million hectares, constituting 44.5 percent of

total cultivated land. The area irrigated mechanically or electrically totals 26.11 million hectares or 58.1 percent of total irrigated area.

In the communications and transport area, 126 new railway lines have been built and the total operational mileage nationwide has grown from 21,800 kilometers in the early years of the PRC to 53,200 kilometers. Many lines have been double-tracked and, on all trunk lines throughout the country, the trains are hauled by internal combustion locomotives or electric locomotives, thus raising transport capacity. All provinces, autonomous regions, and directly administered cities, excluding Tibet, are now connected by rail. In the past, transport in Sichuan was limited. The old saying was, "Transport in Sichuan is difficult, more difficult than climbing to the sky." Now, the Baoji-Chengdu, Chengdu-Chongqing, Xiangfan-Chongqing, Chengdu-Kunming, and Sichuan-Guizhou lines all pass through its territory, and it has become a transport hub for the southwest region. Previously, Fujian, Guizhou, Gansu, Xinjiang, Qinghai, and Ningxia did not have railways, but now they do. In the area of highway transport, there are now 5.11 million civilian-use vehicles, and every county, except one, throughout the country, can be reached by road. Civilian air transport now operates over 378 domestic and international routes, forming an air network linking up all areas. Water transport and pipeline transport have also seen great development. There has been a great increase in the coastal port facilities and in the handling capacity of the ports, and there are now 253 10,000-ton-class ports. We have begun building four deep-water entrepot ports at Dayaowan in Dalian, Beicang in Ningbo, Meizhouwan in Fujian, and Dayawan in Shenzhen.

In the area of posts and communications, we have newly built or expanded facilities, forming a communications network extending to all major cities and townships, with Beijing as its center. The total length of postal routes and village delivery routes throughout the country has grown from 706,000 kilometers in the early period of the PRC to 5 million kilometers today, an increase of six times. Of these, airmail routes have grown to 309,000 kilometers, an increase of 200 times. Long-distance telephone lines and telegraph lines have seen great growth, and today there is telegraphic contact with all counties and telephone contact with 96 percent of townships and villages. Microwave and satellite communications have seen great development, while computer-controlled telephones and optical-fiber communications technology have already begun to be utilized in communications in some cities.

Social production has seen speedy development. From 1953 to 1989, GNP grew at an annual average of seven percent and national income grew at an annual average of 6.8 percent.

In 1989, the output volume of major industrial products as compared to the highest annual output in old China was as follows: Cotton yarn was 10.7 times greater; cotton cloth was 6.8 times greater; steel was 66.7 times

greater; raw coal was 17 times greater; crude oil was 430 times greater; electricity generation was 97 times greater; cement was 92 percent greater; metal-cutting machine tools were 33 times greater; grain was 2.7 times greater; and cotton was 4.5 times greater. The output of some major products has already reached the world's front ranks. For example, steel output has jumped from 26th place in 1949 to fourth place, raw coal output has jumped from ninth place to first place, crude oil output has climbed from 27th place to fourth place, and cotton cloth, grain, cotton, and meat output are all in prime positions in the world. The young republic has, relying on its own strengths, basically guaranteed the food and clothing needs of 1.1 billion people. This is a very great achievement.

Not only has industry seen a great increase in the output of major products, but, more important, there has been a marked improvement in the level of industrial technology. Over the last 41 years, our country has adhered to the path of "combining building ourselves and imports." On the one hand, necessary advanced foreign technology and equipment have been imported. On the other hand, we have put efforts into developing our abilities and systems superiorities and have continually upgraded our country's capacities in design and development. Some of our high-technology industries and technologies have begun to push into the front ranks of the world.

Domestic and international trade are very prosperous. Following the development of industrial and agricultural production, the volume of urban and rural sales has continually grown. The total volume of commodity retail sales in society has risen from 27.7 billion yuan in 1952 to 810.1 billion yuan in 1989. Excluding inflation, the average annual growth was 6.9 percent. In foreign economic dealings, in accordance with the principles of equality and mutual benefit, we have actively developed foreign trade and economic and technological cooperation. In the 1950's, the targets of foreign trade were mainly the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, a small number of countries in Southeast Asia, and the Hong Kong and Macao regions. In the 1980's, our trade extended to virtually all countries and regions around the world. In 1989, total value of national imports and exports was \$111.7 billion, while the value of imports and exports as a proportion of GNP has grown from about 10 percent in 1952 to 26.3 percent in 1989. This has played a positive role in regulating the surplus and shortfalls of commodities domestically, in the importation of advanced technology and equipment, and in promoting national economic development.

Education and science and technology have seen thriving development. After the establishment of New China, the party and the government carried out a deep-going reform of the old education system and established a people's education system. Although it was damaged during the Great Cultural Revolution, our country's educational system has still seen very great development. By 1989 throughout the urban and rural areas of the

country, 1.07 million schools of various kind had been established. Of these, general higher education institutions totaled 1,079. The number of higher education, secondary, and primary schools have grown 17.8 times, 39.8 times, and 5.1 times, respectively, since 1949. Over these 41 years, the general institutions of higher education have turned out 6.77 million undergraduate and specialized graduates, equivalent to 34 times the total number of graduates produced in old China from 1912 to 1948. A total of 188,000 postgraduate research scholars have been produced. Following the promulgation and implementation of the nine years of compulsory education, the work of popularizing primary-level education has been widely developed in the urban and rural areas. The school entrance rate for children of primary school age has risen from about 50 percent at the beginning of the 1950's to 97.4 percent.

Following the development of economic construction, our country's science and technology contingent has continually expanded and the level of science and technology has been swiftly raised. In 1989, the number of natural scientists and technicians in whole-people ownership units reached 10.35 million, an increase of 23.4 times over the figure of 425,000 in 1952. Major scientific and technical research results have been produced in an unbroken stream, particularly in theoretical research areas in nuclear technology, biological science, agricultural science, high-energy physics, computer technology, rocket technology, satellite communications technology, superconductor materials, and so on. In these areas, we have reached or are approaching the world's advanced levels.

There has been an obvious improvement in the people's lives. Over the last 41 years, the party and the government have adopted a series of measures to improve the people's lives. The actual level of consumption of the people of the whole country has risen from the annual figure of 76 yuan per capita in 1952 to 700 yuan in 1989. When inflation factors are excluded, the annual average increase was 3.6 percent. Not only have the people seen a quantitative increase in what they eat, wear, use, and reside in, but also a general quantitative improvement. Medical treatment and health conditions have improved and life expectancy has been greatly extended. Although the income of urban and rural residents of our country is still quite low, in terms of their health, level of nutrition, average life expectancy, and other major quality-of-life indicators, they have already approached or achieved the level of middle-income countries.

Our country is playing an increasingly important role in international affairs. Since the establishment of the PRC, our country has always pursued a foreign policy of independence and self-determination, and has advocated and adhered to the five principles of peaceful coexistence. We have established diplomatic relations with over 130 countries around the world and have developed economic, trade, and cultural relations with an even greater number of countries and regions. Our country has been restored to its seat in the United

Nations and we have successively joined many major international organizations. A series of border disputes left over from history have, in most cases, been appropriately resolved, and, in accordance with the principle of "one country, two systems," we have resolved the problem of the recovery of Hong Kong and Macao.

We have, in firm adherence to the five principles of peaceful coexistence, made efforts to develop friendly relations with the people of various countries, supported the just struggle of people in various countries, and played an increasingly important role in international affairs. China's international position has grown daily and its international influence has increased daily. This has created a beneficial international environment for socialist modernization.

The above facts eloquently prove that socialism has been successful in China's practice and all of China's sons and daughters who have a feeling of national dignity and concern themselves with the fate of the motherland, have pride in the historic changes that have taken place in our country. The great changes over the last 41 years prove two truths: Without the CPC, there would be no New China; and only socialism can save China and develop China.

The Rich Fruits of Reform and Opening Up

The Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, which was convened in December 1978, decided that reform and opening up would be long-term principles of development. This not only reflected the aspirations of the millions of the masses, but was also an objective demand of economic and social development. The period since the beginning of opening up and reform has been one that has seen the most prosperous economic development, the swiftest growth in national strength, and the greatest benefits accruing to the people.

There has been an obvious increase in comprehensive national strength. The GNP rose from 358.8 billion yuan in 1978 to 1.5789 trillion yuan in 1989, and growth, calculated at comparable prices, was nine percent annually. This was not only higher than the 6.1 percent average growth rate of the previous 26 years (1953 to 1978), but also greatly higher than the growth rates of the vast majority of countries around the world over the same period. (In the 1980's, average annual growth in the world economy was 2.6 percent. In the United States, the European Community, and Japan the figures were three percent, 4.2 percent, and 2.2 percent, respectively; the average for developing countries was 3.2 percent.) At present, our country's GNP ranks eighth in the world. The output of some major industrial and agricultural products have leaped into the foremost ranks of the world. Over the last 11 years, the newly added fixed assets created in capital construction by whole-people ownership units have totaled 754.9 billion yuan. The national budgetary financial income had risen from 112.1 billion to 278.5 billion yuan. Extrabudgetary income rose from 37.4 billion yuan to 260 billion yuan.

The rural economy has achieved breakthrough developments. From 1979 to 1989, gross agricultural output value grew at an annual average of 5.9 percent, far higher than the 2.7-percent average of the preceding 26 years, and the output volume of the major agricultural products has generally seen a quite great increase. In 1989, grain output was 407.55 million tons, one-third more than in 1978. Cotton output was 3.79 million tons, up 74.7 percent. (In 1983, the output was 4.64 million tons, over twice the 1978 figure.) Output of oil-bearing crops was 12.95 million tons, twice the 1978 figure. The output of sugar crops, silkworm cocoons, pork, beef, and mutton, aquatic products, and fruit all grew by over 100 percent. Rural manufacturing, the construction industry, transport industry, commerce, and other nonagricultural industries saw speedy development, spurring on the prosperity of the overall rural economy. In 1989, the gross output value of nonagricultural industry in the rural areas was 794.5 billion yuan. Calculated at comparable prices, this was an increase of 8.1 times.

The technical transformation of industry has been strengthened. Over the last 11 years, the investment used by whole-people ownership enterprises in technical transformation has totaled over 320 billion yuan, and over 10,000 items of advanced technology and equipment have been imported from abroad. Some of our high-technology industries and our technologies have begun to move into the advanced world ranks. A number of new modern products have been produced and advanced technologies from around the world have been mastered. These include, for example, a 1.7-meter thin-plate rolling mill, a 600,000-kilowatt generating unit, a complete set of equipment for a joint iron and steel enterprise which produces 1.5 million tons annually, complete sets of equipment for a 300,000-ton synthetic ammonia plant and a 240,000-ton urea plant, equipment for a super-large open-cut coal-mine with a 10 million-ton capacity, super-precise bearings, and super-precise machine tools. The 10,000-ton cargo ships manufactured by the shipbuilding industry using the method of sectional welding have met international ship classification standards. The oil industry has sunk many super-deep wells extending down over 6,000 meters and has initially mastered the technologies of offshore drilling and drilling slanted wells.

Today our country can, relying on its own strengths, basically provide the technology and equipment for large-scale mining, electricity generation, metallurgy, the oil industry, the chemical industry, the vehicle and ship-building industries, and other major industrial sectors.

The construction of basic facilities has been strengthened. In order to accord with the new situation of reform and opening up, the state has put great efforts into strengthening construction and technical transformation by the transport departments. The length of electrified rail lines grew from 1,000 kilometers in 1978 to 6,372 kilometers in 1989, a growth of 5.4 times over 11 years. Multiple-track lines have been completed over 4,898 kilometers

and the percentage of multiple-track lines increased from 15.7 percent to 23.6 percent. The number of berths in the major coastal ports was increased by 698 and a number of container wharves and specialized coal, mineral, and mixed cargo wharves were completed. The handling capacity of coastal ports increased from 198.34 million tons in 1978 to 490.25 million tons in 1989. Our country has established a long-distance ocean-going fleet of over 1,000 vessels that sail to 600 ports in over 100 countries. The length of civil aviation routes grew from 149,000 kilometers in 1978 to 472,000 kilometers in 1989, an increase of 2.2 times.

A situation of being open to the outside world has been initially formed. Following the implementation of the policy of opening to the outside world, our country has initially established a graded, focused open situation comprising special economic zones, open coastal cities, coastal economic development regions, and the hinterland. Thereby, great advances have been realized in drawing in advanced foreign technology and management experiences, in utilizing foreign funds, and in speeding domestic economic construction. The total volume of imports and exports in 1989 was 4.4 times greater than in 1978, an average annual growth of 16.6 percent, surpassing the average 9.5 percent annual growth of the preceding 26 years. Our country has also attracted a large number of foreign business persons, Overseas Chinese, and Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan compatriots to invest in the mainland. Since 1979, cumulative direct investment by business persons has totaled \$15.5 billion. Contracted engineering abroad and labor contract work have also seen initial development and labor cooperative relationships have been established with over 100 countries and regions around the world.

Education, science and technology, and other undertakings are advancing through reform. Over the last 11 years, following reform of the university examination system and the development of higher education, the general institutions of higher education have trained a total of 3.82 million undergraduates and specialized graduates, surpassing the sum total of the preceding 26 years. Domestically, a number of masters and doctoral graduates have been trained and more than 100,000 government-funded and privately funded students have studied in over 70 countries and regions. Middle-school level vocational education has also seen thriving development. Universal primary education work is now being widely developed in all areas. Over the last 11 years, over 90,000 major scientific and technological achievements have been realized and the state has rewarded over 1,700 inventions and issued over 3,000 state scientific-advancement awards. These scientific and technological results have been of a quite high technical level and some have achieved advanced international levels. Positron-electron colliders, heavy ion accelerators, synchronic radiation experimental laboratories, and other such large-scale scientific research projects have been successfully completed and put into use. The successful

launching of the Long March-2 high-thrust cluster rocket, the "Asiasat 1" communications satellite, the "Fengyun 1" weather satellite, and an underwater long-range guided missile indicate the new breakthroughs realized by our country.

Great developments have been achieved in culture, sports, and other social undertakings. Over the last 11 years, radio broadcasting stations, television stations, museums, libraries, theaters, and other cultural facilities have grown in proportions ranging from several times to tens of times. Our athletes have scored record achievements in the Asian Games and the Olympic Games and in some events have achieved results that break Asian records and approach world records.

There has been a clear improvement in the quality of life of urban and rural residents. During the period 1979 to 1989, the level of consumption of the residents of the country grew annually by 6.9 percent, much higher than the 2.2 percent annual growth of the preceding 26 years. The problems of food and clothing have already been resolved for the vast majority of people and some residents have started to become well off. The food structure is making a transition to where nutrition is being stressed, while in their clothing people are now stressing style and beauty. There has been a speedy development from the situation where there were no washing machines, refrigerators, color televisions, or other high-grade home appliances, to today where they exist widely in homes. Now, videocorders, pianos, and private telephones are starting to be seen in high-income households. During the last 11 years, 8.8 billion square meters of new housing has been built in urban and rural areas, and this has improved the living conditions of residents. On the basis of overall improvements in what they eat, wear, use, and reside in, the savings deposits of rural residents grew from 21.1 billion yuan in 1978 to 514.7 billion yuan in 1989.

Over the last 41 years and especially in the 11 years since the reforms and opening up were implemented, our country's socialist construction has realized world-recognized achievements. However, in this difficult and complex process of construction, some serious mistakes have been made and some setbacks have been encountered. The mistakes and setbacks have taught us the importance of seeking truth from facts and have caused us to more fully recognize the importance of adhering to the party's basic line of "one focus and two basic points." By summing up and remembering the experiences and lessons of history, we will have faith in striving to realize greater achievements in socialist construction under the leadership of the CPC.

Reviewing the Development of Forestry in China From the 'Three Norths' Shelter-Forest Project

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[Article by Gao Dezhan (7559 1795 0594), minister of forestry]

[Text] Forestry is an important industry in our national economy. It is also an important public service. Forestry is not only vital to the development of the national economy, it also improves our ecological environment and stimulates social progress. Future generations will also benefit from forestry. In this modern world, a flourishing forestry industry is a symbol of the prosperity, strength, and civilization of a country.

Since the nation was founded, forestry has been developing and producing successfully. It has created economic, ecological, and social benefits. The industry has provided 3.4 billion cubic meters of wood and many other wood products for national construction and for use in people's daily lives. The plains, where there were no forests or very few forests in the past, now have more than 400 million mu of farmland protected by shelter forests. This farmland, which is 53.7 percent of the total amount of all farming area on the plain, is the result of afforestation. The development of the shelter-forest project in the northwest, north China, and the northeast ("three norths" for short) is now in its second stage. The shelter-forest project in the upper and middle reaches of the Chang Jiang has already started. At present there are 465 million mu of man-made forests in China, covering more land than anywhere else in the world. The area of forestland created each year is almost 80 million mu. In return, these forests produce for us 60 million cubic meters of wood and 20 million cubic meters of boards. The development of forestry is important to the development of socialist modernization. The industrial development of forestry has helped us understand more clearly Comrade Deng Xiaopeng's idea of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. Considering our national conditions and the conditions of our forests, the only way to develop forestry in our country is to develop it with Chinese characteristics. To understand this point we should look at the "three norths" shelter-forest project.

I. The "Three Norths" Shelter-Forest Project Has Been an Outstanding Achievement

The "three norths" shelter-forest project was decided on by the Central Committee and the State Council in 1978. This project covers the 551 counties (banners, cities) in 13 provinces (autonomous regions, municipalities). It stretches across the northwestern region, northern region, and the western part of the northeast region. The project covers 42.4 percent of the total land area in the country, and touches the lives of 33 nationalities and 133 million people.

Historically, the "three norths" region used to have dense forests and fertile grassland. Over the years there were wars, tremendous population growth, and the land was abused by people who cut trees, farmed, and herded animals. The green shelter gradually disappeared and the large area of forest and grassland became bare. As a result, ecological conditions became unbalanced and there were frequent natural disasters. Severe damage was caused by drought, sandstorms, and soil erosion. The

whole region, including 12 deserts, sand strips, and gobi, spread over the area of 1.33 million square kilometers, larger than the total amount of arable land in our country. Because of the existence of these thousands of miles of sandy land, there were 20 to 100 windy and sand-blown days per year in the region. Sandstorms and shifting sand often threatened the safety of cities and villages, interrupted transportation, and damaged the irrigation system. Large areas of farm and grassland were affected by the wind and sand. Grain production was low and unstable, and the grass degenerated. The "three norths" region lost about 554,000 square kilometers of land because of soil erosion. The loess plateau, where most of the erosion happened, was most seriously affected. The average amount of soil lost each year was like scraping off one centimeter of all the topsoil, the amount of nitrogen, phosphorus, and potassium lost was equal to 30 million tons of artificial fertilizer. Due to atmospheric circulation and the lack of forests, the "three norths" region suffered frequently from drought and waterlogging, and the situation seemed to get more and more serious. Abominable natural conditions and heavy population growth hindered any improvement in the living standards of this region. In many places there were shortages of wood, fuel, feed, and fertilizer. People in this region led difficult lives. The "three norths" shelter-forest project is the best plan possible for the transformation of the ecological environment in this large area. The project also will improve the productivity of the land and stabilize and increase agricultural production and the production of animal husbandry. This strategic policy is the answer to the wishes of the people from the "three norths." The troops stationed in this region, the cadres, and the masses all embrace this project enthusiastically.

It has been 12 years since the "three norths" shelter-forest project began, and we have achieved great success. The success of this project is due to the development of forestry since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. We have created 137 million mu of man-made forests and have sealed off 33.57 million square mu to facilitate afforestation. We have converted another 3.6 million square mu of land through seeding by plane. Furthermore, we have planted 3 billion trees in various places. Adding old and new forests together, the total area of timberland in the "three norths" region at present is 425 million mu. The percentage of forest cover has risen from 5.05 percent in 1977 to 7.09 percent now. Even though the project is not finished, we are already able to see its positive influence on the ecology, economy, and society. In the past the grain output from the 1,656 million mu of land in this region was always low and unstable. Since afforestation, grain production has increased 10-30 percent. There was 134 million mu of desert and semidesert, consisting of sandy, alkaline soil and scrub grass. Since we planted a shelter forest, sealed off the sand, and planted trees and grass, the grassland has recovered and grass production has increased 20 percent. The erosion on 110 million mu of land has begun to slow; 10 percent less sand flows toward

the Huang He every year. The 100 million mu of land damaged by wind and sand is now recovering. According to studies, every year 1 percent of the land will become desert. Part of the "three norths" forest project is to afforest the area around Beijing and Tianjin. After many years of effort, we have had some success. According to observations by relevant departments in Beijing, the average number of days with dust storms or floating dust has dropped from 29 days per year in the 1970's to 18.7 in 1987. Because of the development of the "three norths" shelter-forest project, the lives of the people in that area have improved somewhat. The 11 million mu of fuel forest yields three million tons of firewood yearly. The firewood and other fuel supplements have helped solve the fuel problem for five million farm families. At present, this region produces every year more than 2.8 billion kilograms of fresh fruit worth 2.7 billion yuan and 5 million cubic meters of logs. Many places can now supply enough wood for local use. Because the tree-growing cycle is long, it will take a while before many beneficial effects of the forest manifest themselves. But we expect that, as time goes by, the "three norths" shelter project will have a stronger and stronger impact.

The "three norths" shelter-forest project is the first of its kind in our history of forestry development. This afforestation project is a rare event, even for foreign countries. It is rare because the project has been established on such a large scale, working conditions are so difficult, and progress has been so fast. The project is considered to be the "biggest ecological project in the world" and has been named "China's Great Green Wall." The development of the "three norths" shelter-forest project has shown us the superiority of socialism. Millions of hardworking and brave people, led by the CPC, have successfully built forestry with Chinese characteristics.

II. What Have We Learned About Forestry Development From Our Experience in the "Three Norths" Shelter-Forest Project?

The party Central Committee and the State Council have decided that the development and production of forestry is an important issue. They have thus given us a series of directives. In March 1990, Comrade Jiang Zemin and Comrade Li Peng wrote to the Ninth General (Extended) Conference of the National Afforestation Committee: "Planting trees, creating forests, and making our motherland green are important to the well-being of our future generations. This is also important to the development of our national economy, the improvement of our ecological environment, and the development of spiritual civilization." Furthermore, Jiang and Li said "that all party committees and government offices must pay attention to afforestation. This should be included in their priority agendas. The party committees and government offices should provide more leadership and motivate the masses. The whole society needs to be involved in forestry, and everyone should work for afforestation." The comrades' letter has given us a clear direction, a specific demand, and a well-defined task for the future development of forestry and afforestation. We

can have more confidence now in developing forestry with Chinese characteristics.

Our experience with the "three norths" shelter-forest project has taught us something about forestry development. We have learned that we must follow the party's ideological guideline, that is, seek truth from facts. We must not forget our national conditions and the conditions of our forests. We must make good use of the superiority of our socialist system and carry on the excellent tradition and work style of our party. We will do our best to follow natural and economic laws and stick to the course of developing forestry with Chinese characteristics. In general, we have learned five things from this experience.

1. We Depend on the Masses and Mobilize Everyone Into Taking Initiative. The Whole Society Is Devoted to the Development of Forestry and All the People Work for Afforestation.

We have a large population with a small amount of forest. The average area of forest per person is only 1.65 mu, 16.9 percent of the world average; and the average forest reserve per person is 8.3 cubic meters, lower than the world figure of 11.5. Our problem is too many people and too few forests. However, there are at least 1.1 billion mu of uncultivated hills and land that can be used for growing trees, and we have rich labor resources, which are essential to the development of forestry. The excellent tradition of our party tells us that we can mobilize the masses and depend on them to develop and defend the cause of our revolution. Right from the start the business of the "three norths" project was everyone's business. Various party committees and government offices provide leadership. Each profession, industry, social group, and people's organization "follows a unified plan, dividing the work and the responsibilities, paying their costs, enjoying their profits, and finishing their tasks on schedule." People are united in the struggle of building the great green wall. This is particularly true for the troops stationed in the "three norths" region. They afforest their bases and volunteer to plant trees and create forests in the surrounding areas. They supply the planes for sowing seeds and help with the construction work. The Communist Youth League has organized young people and helped involve them in the shelter-forest project, covering the six provinces where the Huang He flows. The project has been successful; in seven years 6.25 million mu of forest have been created. All the mines, enterprises, government offices, and schools in the "three norths" region consider development of the shelter-forest project to be their most important task. During the last 12 years, people have spent 1.2 billion work days on the project; that is 100 million work days a year. This shows that people are motivated and that they are the great force behind the building of socialist forestry.

It was true in the development of forestry that we had very little to start with and that we had many problems. The forest conditions could not satisfy the demands of

modernization, and developing forestry was not an easy chore. But we have managed to make the best of the situation, overcome obstacles, and accomplish a lot in afforesting the region. This is because we have worked hard in advertising the project, and we have mobilized and organized the masses and the forces from all sides. The whole society is involved in developing forestry, and all people work to afforest their areas.

2. We Have an Independent Spirit and We Are Hardworking. We Have Raised Money for Forestry Development by "Asking the Masses To Contribute Their Labor" and by Collecting Funds From Everywhere, With Subsidies From the Government.

Our country has plenty of uncultivated land that can be developed into forests. In most cases mechanization is not possible, because the terrain varies a great deal and because we are financially restricted. We still have to work manually in many ways, such as in growing seedlings, clearing the land, and planting and tending trees. However, forestry needs more than the input of manual labor. It needs a certain amount of investment funds as well. Because our nation is in a tight financial situation, we cannot expect our government to satisfy our financial needs. We have to rely on ourselves more and use government subsidies as a supplement only. We must build forests and plant trees with our hardworking spirit. That is to say, we have to cut down on the expenses of the project and depend more on volunteer labor. Work units cannot arbitrarily raise the amount of investment funds for forestry development. We should not repeat history when planting trees was a costly business. Instead we should spend less money and create more forests. The essence of the present forestry policy says that work units own the profits from the forests they create. In reality, the accumulation of labor benefits the people in the long run. As forest workers say, working for forest creation project is "like saving money in the mountains." "This is like setting up a green bank." "This is like establishing a green enterprise." At present, many places have a labor accumulation system and volunteer work system, which is a good and suitable system for our national conditions. The areas and the provinces surrounding the "three norths" have adopted the system. Each village laborer volunteers 10 to 15 work days a year for the project. This guarantees the labor resources for the "three norths" shelter-forest project.

We have learned from our experiences in forestry development that there are many ways and different approaches to raise funds for the afforestation project. In recent years, individual regions have accumulated many worthy experiences in fund-raising. We can summarize these experiences in one phrase: "eight little bits." That means a little bit coming from the central government, from bank loans, from regional budgets, from village donations, from departments in charge, from work units, from the people, and, finally, from payment for exemption from volunteer labor. There is no way the central government can invest a lot of money in forestry; the amount given can only supplement the total cost. The

government's function is mainly to provide leadership, to regulate any important construction, and to provide guidance in fund-raising. We must raise most of the money. The funds needed for individual forestry development are spent according to planning. This shows that forestry development and afforestation are a people's project and a social cause.

The first stage of the "three norths" shelter-forest project was held from 1978 to 1985. During this time, almost 100 million mu of forests were created, equal to 4 billion yuan of investment funds. The government gave 300 million yuan, and 1.42 billion yuan was raised through different channels. To make up for the funds that were not available, villages volunteered their workers or people contributed their labor. This proves that the investment mechanism for forestry of combining "volunteer work, fund-raising, and government supplements" suits our national conditions well. This mechanism has also stimulated the development of forestry.

3. We Insist on Combining Economic, Ecological, and Social Benefits. We Have Created Many Types of Forests and Planted Many Types of Trees. We Combine Forestry With Other Business Operations.

The characteristic of forestry is its long production cycle. After we put in our funds, we must wait a long time before we see any profit. In order for forestry to grow healthily, we must find out how to combine the long growing cycle with the shorter cycle, and support long-cycle trees with short-cycle ones. In forestry, different trees and plants have different life cycles. Economic wood and fuel wood take a shorter time to grow; wood for lumber takes longer. The purpose of developing shelter forests is to provide society with ecological benefit. We cannot look for direct economic benefits only. This is to say that forestry is both an industry and a social cause. We must unify economic, ecological, and social benefits. When we develop forestry, we must bear in mind that we have to protect the ecological environment and build our shelter-forest system. We have to plant more trees for lumber and fuel because we need to increase the supply of timber and to improve our living conditions. We simply must create different varieties of forests and plant various types of trees. In fact, combining trees with different growing cycles is good for the continuous, stable, and coordinated development of forestry, and for the fulfillment of ecological, social, and economic requirements.

At present, our national economic development standard is still low, and most of the forests are situated in remote areas. The "three norths" shelter-forest project is being carried out in the districts that "are older, closer to the border, poorer, and with fewer resources." Therefore, when we develop forestry, besides considering the long-term and macro-ecological and social benefits, we must think of the short-term and microeconomic benefits. We want people to benefit from the development of forestry. The project should stimulate people and invigorate forestry. We have to make overall planning for the

distribution of various types of forests and trees, and make sure that the sites and ratio of the planted trees are correct. We also have to study the industrial structure of forestry. We need to have many business activities that create economic benefits, which will in turn balance the disadvantages from slow tree-growing cycles and slow results. We have to make good use of the rich resources in forests. Besides trees, a forest produces herbs, edible plants, and various minerals. We ought to create business opportunities to fully utilize these rich resources. We must change our monotonous structure of production in forestry, and safeguard a continuous, stable, and coordinated development.

All the districts that are involved in the "three norths" shelter-forest project understand the importance of combining different tree-growing cycles and they support the slow-growing trees with faster ones. From the planning stage to the working stage, we must focus our attention on the ecological benefit. At the same time, we want to make sure that the shelter-forest project will help the people rid themselves of poverty. During the last 12 years, 80 million mu of shelter-forests have been created, plus 35 million mu of lumber forests, 9 million mu of economic forests, and 11 million of fuel forests. Meanwhile, we have started more than 2,500 types of businesses, including setting up tree nurseries, excavation and collection of specimens, and the processing of wood. The output value of this sideline production is 400 million yuan a year. The business pays for the forest, and volunteer work makes up for the needed funds. People benefit from the business; they begin to have savings and develop more skills. This is how the masses keep up their enthusiasm for the project and how the project sustains itself financially.

4. We Emphasize Science and Technology. We Have Scientific Management. We "Build Our Forests With Science."

To develop forestry, we need policy, science and technology, and investment. If we look at our forestry production from a practical viewpoint, if we want to improve the phenomena of lax control and backward management, we must apply science and technology in our control-and-management system. The major task of forestry is to improve the survival rate of trees, conserve them, improve their growth rate, and utilize the natural resources from forests. This requires advanced science and technology. "To build our forests with science" is a basic, significant, and strategic task.

"To build forests with science" is to follow the law of nature and the economic laws of forestry. We emphasize scientific skills and scientific management. Right at the start of the "three norths" shelter-forest project, we acknowledged the importance of scientific skills. We make plans only after detailed inspection and demonstrations. Our planning is always adapted to local conditions and includes preventive measures. We have planted different species of trees and different types of grass. We use several approaches to develop forestry. We

build man-made forests, seal off sand dunes and sand areas, and sow seeds by airplanes. We pay attention to the quality of trees and nurture them carefully. We emphasize scientific management and strict technological control. We also engage in many scientific research activities in conjunction with the development of the "three norths" shelter-forest project.

"To build forests with science" we need to figure out the way to transform scientific research results into practical use. Our aim is to broaden the profit cycle so that we need to invest only a little, while gaining large profits. In the past 12 years of the "three norths" shelter-forest project, forest technicians and the masses have struggled against drought, sandstorms, and soil erosion. These valuable experiences have taught them many useful skills. Some of the techniques invented by these people are the best in the field, domestically or internationally. They have invented 127 items of advanced technology, 28 of which have been chosen for wider usage in the project. We have taken measures to promote these inventions, and the results have been outstanding. We encouraged people to learn how to use nursery stock to plant trees that are most adaptive to adverse environments. The technical skills of deep drilling and planting, deep planting in ditches, collective irrigation, and setting up obstacles against sand are most helpful for afforestation in regions like the "three norths," where it is dry, rainless, sandy, and windy. These new skills have solved a whole series of technical problems and ensured smooth development of the "three norths" shelter-forest project.

5. We emphasize Strong Leadership, Work Diligently, and Implement an Effective Responsibility System.

Planting trees and developing forestry is like starting a green revolution. This is a great cause and will benefit people many generations later. This will help our children, grandchildren, and many other families. It is, therefore, necessary for party committees and regional government offices to provide strong leadership. Party committee and regional government leaders must mobilize and organize millions of people. They must get involved. Because the production cycle of trees is long, it takes a long time to see the beneficial effects of forestry development. Besides, the ecological benefit from forests is not easily recognizable. This is why we need to have strong leaders who can shoulder the responsibility of afforestation and work hard to achieve success.

Party leaders and government officials from the "three norths" districts have taken the project seriously. They realize that the project is important to the transformation of their natural environment and the revitalization of local economies. The success of the project is always on their priority agenda. Judging from the results, we can see that party and government leaders are accomplishing the job of afforestation by successfully implementing the responsibility system. There are five stages through which they implement the responsibility system. 1) The leaders make the plans for forestry development and afforestation, set targets for their districts, and decide on

important work projects and various measures. 2) Leaders explain their goals to the cadres from different levels and send messages to government offices in the cities, districts, townships, counties, and villages. Everyone has to understand the duty assigned to him and is required to sign a paper after receiving this assignment. In the paper he agrees to undertake the job given him. 3) Leaders must be good role models and lead the way. Problems should be detected and corrected earlier. High-ranking officials should show the cadres immediately below them how to accomplish afforestation. In short, high-ranking cadres must lead and show the way. 4) All work will be inspected and evaluated according to strict standards. Everyone must want to do a quality job and achieve good results. 5) Party and government officials are to be judged by how much they achieve in developing forestry. Awards or penalties will be given according to results. Afforestation will be included as a duty of leading cadres, and their achievement in this area will be one of the criteria for job evaluation. Cadres may be rewarded or they may be punished. If the job is not done well, a "yellow-flag warning" or "warning notice" will be issued. This is the first time in the history of forestry development that there is a responsibility system in which all cadres are put in charge of different tasks. This system shows that the party and government are strongly behind the development of forestry. This has been a most effective method and will be the best guarantee of success.

III. We Will Deepen the Reform of Forestry and Continue To Stay the Course of Developing Forestry With Chinese Characteristics

The development of the "three norths" shelter-forest project has given us valuable experience and has also provided us important guidelines in the production and development of forestry. However, while we have achieved success, we must not forget the existing problems and difficulties. In some places the forests are carelessly managed. Those districts have to improve the survival rate and the conservation rate of their trees. Some younger forests are not given protection early enough, and the quality of the trees there is too low. The task of creating forests is becoming more and more difficult. Insufficient funds have certainly delayed progress. More work must be done in the prevention and treatment of tree diseases and in the area of resource control. There should be a better way to distribute profits reaped from the shelter-forest project. And we don't have enough policies or measures to help us finish the project faster. We must find some ways to solve these serious problems.

The obstacles and problems we have with the "three norths" project exist in the overall development of forestry in our country. Although we have achieved great success in forest development, especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have to brace ourselves for a more difficult future. There are two major obstacles we have to overcome. First, the amount of forest reserves is diminishing, even though

every year we expand the area of forest and even though the percentage of forest cover is gradually rising. According to the third survey (1984-1988), the percentage of forest cover has been raised to 12.98 percent. But, because consumption is larger than growth, forest reserves continue to disappear and the quality of forests continues to decline; there are fewer and fewer mature forests for timber processing. This has caused an insufficient supply of timber. Second, we still don't have enough funds to invest in the project. At present, we are in a tight financial situation. We carry a heavy burden but don't have enough money to fulfill our responsibilities. This has restricted our vitality and our capacity to grow. If we look at the process of forest production, the beginning stage of afforestation requires a large investment. We do not make much money out of log cutting, either. The only time we can make a profit in forestry is in the circulation and processing of timber. If we are allowed to spend the profits made from this stage of production, reinvest the money into forest development and management, then forestry can be a truly profitable industry. Our present problem is that we separate responsibility, authority, and benefits; and we have no measure that will coordinate forest development, log cutting, and timber processing. The profit made from sales of logs and timber processing cannot be reinvested. That means forestry cannot support itself. Those who have created the forest do not get to see the profit, and those who receive the profit are not the ones who planted the trees. The diminishing of forest reserves and the shortage of funds are the two ends of our problem. They form a vicious circle that has greatly restricted and damaged the development of forestry.

The difficulties and problems facing the development of forestry are not new; they have been accumulating for many years. There are many explanations for this phenomenon; its causes were created by history. Based on the present forestry situation, if we want to get out of this predicament and revitalize the industry, our only choice is to uphold the four basic principles, uphold the reform and open policy, and continue to develop forestry with Chinese characteristics. Our general target for reforming and developing forestry is to increase the productivity of forestry, increase forest reserves, and revitalize forestry. Forest reserves are the foundation of forestry. We have to be systematic and take comprehensive measures. We must speed up forest cultivation, strengthen forest protection, tighten control, and utilize resources carefully. We must deepen the reform of forestry, uphold the course of forestry development with Chinese characteristics, and develop the industry in the five areas mentioned above. We will further change the outlook of forestry and gradually implement the four stages of transformation. We will depend less on log cutting, more on sales management, and we will increase the amount of man-made forests. Instead of depending only on timber production, we should start various kinds of businesses, reorganize the structure of the industry and products, and develop a comprehensive line of production. We will depend more on science and technology. We will lease

out management contracts, implement scientific control, raise productivity, and improve economic benefits. Afforestation will not be the sole responsibility of the Ministry of Forestry. The whole society should be involved and all people should pitch in to help. We must take into consideration the condition of our country and our forests, and make plans that will correspond to local conditions and to regional strength and energy. Each province (district, city) will be told about the national plan for afforestation and forestry development. From now until the year 2000, we need to add 500 million mu of forests and to cultivated 500 million mu of seedlings. If we can carry out this plan, our forestry will have a completely different outlook. We must have confidence in ourselves and aim at developing forestry with Chinese characteristics. We will work hard and struggle, open the path and march onward. Gradually we will be able to see a steady growth of our forest reserves and a stable development of forestry economy. We will thus make bigger contributions to the improvement of our ecological condition and the national economy.

Carry Forward the Daqing Spirit, Make Greater Contributions to the Country

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[Text] The Daqing Oilfield has seen 30 full years of development. Through 30 years of prospecting, development, and construction, it has developed into the largest oilfield and petrochemical production base in the country, with a reputation extending far and wide. Production over the years has totaled 1.01 billion tons of crude oil, constituting over half of the total crude oil output of the country since the founding of the PRC. It has, over the years, handed up 77.9 billion yuan to the state financial administration, 11.8 times the total investment by the state in oilfields over the same period. It has provided over 200 million tons of crude oil for export, earning more than \$28 billion of foreign exchange for the state. Through the state's unified arrangements, oil produced by the Daqing Oilfield has continually flowed to 45 oil refineries, petrochemical plants, and other industrial and mining enterprises in 13 provinces and cities. The Daqing Petrochemical Plant has been established on the base of the oil and gas resources at Daqing. This includes a 5-million-ton capacity refinery and a 300,000-ton-capacity ethylene factory. Last year, the total industrial output value of the Daqing Oilfield and the Daqing Petrochemical Plant was 17.2 billion yuan. This placed them in the front ranks of national enterprises both in terms of industrial output value and in terms of the amount of profits and taxes handed up to the state.

At the same time as creating great material wealth for the country, the Daqing Oilfield has, through a long period of practice, formed the Daqing spirit, which manifests

the outstanding moral qualities of the Chinese working class. This includes the patriotic spirit of seeking glory for the country and trying to bring credit to the nation; the pioneering spirit of seeking independent self-determination and self-sufficiency; the truth-seeking spirit of stressing science and stressing "honesty in three ways and strictness in four aspects"; and the contributory spirit of bearing the overall situation in mind and sharing the state's cares and burdens.

It was through reliance on this spirit that, in the arduous conditions of those days, where there was just blue sky and a barren plain, the oil workers who came from all over the country worked hard for the prosperity of the country, pushed forward even after knowing the difficulties, and, with swift and high-quality work, built this large oilfield, announcing to the world our country's self-sufficiency in oil, and winning a major battle to bring glory to the country and the people. During the period of the "10 years of turmoil," the masses of staff and workers resisted all sorts of interference, persisted in production, and fought for oil, and oil output rose to an annual figure of 50 million tons. This was a major contribution in supporting the national economy which was bordering on collapse. In the early period of reform and opening up, and especially after 1981, the oilfield entered the stage where extracted oil had a high water content and, in a situation where the annual natural decline in oil output volume was 5 million tons, we actively and safely implemented an enterprise management system, distribution system, and reforms in other aspects, persisted in the socialist orientation, persisted with the party's leadership of the enterprise and achieved victory in maintaining crude oil production at 5 million tons. Practice has proven that the Daqing spirit has become a strong spiritual force for the broad numbers of staff and workers in the opening up, building, and development of Daqing.

Patriotism that strives to bring glory to the country and credit to the nation and the devotional spirit of being concerned for the whole situation and sharing the burdens of the country are the core of the Daqing spirit and are also a powerful motive force in getting the staff and workers of Daqing Oilfield to always maintain a high-level contribution to the state.

Over the last 30 years, the staff and workers at Daqing have consistently placed the interests of the party and the state in the prime position, made the needs of the national economy their own goals of struggle, and always maintained the zealous desire, formed during the pioneering stages, to bring glory to the country and share the country's burdens. Through selfless labor and arduous and meticulous work, they have manifested a patriotic spirit of contributing themselves to the various aspects of work and continually made greater contributions to the state. In the new period of reform and opening up, the broad number of staff and workers have made determined efforts to advance on the ideological level, to be brave in development on the work level, and to continually engage in new creation on the technological level.

They have kept the overall situation in mind, voluntarily steeled themselves, and continually pushed towards new goals. In 1985, after the oilfield victoriously realized the goal of "raising output to 50 million tons and maintaining stable production for 10 years," we also put forward a goal of struggle requiring "liberating the mind, deepening reform, strengthening prospecting, achieving a further 10 years of stable production of 50 million tons of oil, and struggling to extend the period of stable production." In this way, all in the oilfield on all fronts and at all levels were widely motivated and organized, all were of one heart, struggled jointly for the target, and maintained the stable production of the oilfield at 50 million tons. The broad masses of workers and technicians took contributing to the country to be their greatest glory and joy. It was with this noble ideal and spirit of devotion that, faced with the arduous tasks and the difficult conditions, the contingents were able to demonstrate a high degree of organizational discipline and maintain their vibrant fighting will. In the summer of 1988, Daqing Oilfield suffered a huge flood disaster unlike anything experienced in the previous 30 years, and 250 square kilometers of the oilfield were inundated. Over 22,300 wells and 300 transfer stations and measuring stations were flooded, and there were 22,300 occasions on which the wells could not produce normally, directly affecting crude oil production by 250,000 tons. In the face of this serious natural disaster, more than 20,000 staff and workers struggled day and night in the first line against the flood. Through more than two months of arduous efforts and by all sorts of methods, production was restored and eventually increased. By the end of the year, not only had there not been a decline in oil production, but production was 200,000 tons above quota.

During the turmoil and counterrevolutionary rebellion last year, the broad number of cadres and masses of the oilfield seriously implemented the series of major decisions by the party Central Committee, clearly and steadfastly opposed the turmoil and, stressing the overall national situation, stabilized the oilfield and persevered in production. They heroically noted, "A small number of people are engaged in turmoil, but we want to persevere in our work." During this period, there were 190,000 entrants in a production-technology competition, 180,000 entrants in a culture and art competition, 210,000 participants in the 92d post responsibility system inspection, and 200,000 participants in the singing and performance of revolutionary songs. The broad number of staff and workers opposed the turmoil and, in the first half of last year, despite the extremely difficult situation, they produced 110,000 tons of crude oil in excess of the quota, thereby using real actions to show that the Daqing staff and workers have firm faith in and warmly love the Communist Party and the socialist motherland.

The spirit of arduous struggle is a traditional virtue of the Chinese nation, a fine tradition of the party, and the spiritual prop on which the continued existence and development of Daqing depends.

During the battle for oil at Daqing, we vividly summed up the arduous pioneering spirit as "the hauling and toting spirit," "the rammed-earth construction spirit," "the sewing and mending factory spirit," "the recovery team spirit," and "the spirit of five shovels engaging in revolution." After entering the 1980's, following the development of production and construction, there was a big improvement in the oilfield's production and living conditions as compared to the period of the battle for oil, but in prospecting, drilling, underground and basic oilfield construction units, there were still over 40,000 staff and workers who worked in the open and their work conditions were extremely difficult. Also, when the oilfield extraction enters the middle and latter stages, maintaining production becomes increasingly difficult and thus, if there is no spirit of arduous struggle, there is no way one can obtain oil. In response to the spreading fear of arduous work and love of comfort among some staff and workers and particularly among young staff and workers, we held discussions throughout the entire oilfield on the topic "in the process of realizing the four modernizations, do we need to continue to struggle arduously?" Through presenting facts and stressing logic we enabled the staff and workers to clearly distinguish right and wrong and to adhere to the idea of carrying forward the Daqing spirit and continue to struggle arduously. The staff and workers on the prospecting front face intense cold and blistering heat and over the years they have traveled over all the prospecting regions in Heilongjiang and eastern Inner Mongolia and have plotted seismic surveying lines for over 80,000 kilometers. The well-drilling workers have to battle in the wilderness regardless of the season. They have sunk more than 12,800 wells over the years, with a cumulative depth of over 16 million meters. The oilfield construction contingent works outside throughout the year and in 10 years they have built 31 million tons of production capacity. Over 9,800 staff and workers have left the old production base area and have gone to areas as much as 100 li away, where conditions are harsh, to participate in the battle for oil. Daqing staff and workers have been able to sustain high-level, stable production only through reliance on this type of death-defying, arduous revolutionary spirit and selfless labor.

Over the last few years, the oilfield has entered a stage where extracted oil contains a high proportion of water, and four-fifths of each ton of liquid extracted has been water. At the same time, the natural laws determined that output of crude oil would decline 4.5 million tons annually. If we are to maintain stable production in the oilfield, we need to strengthen prospecting, to tap the potential of the old oilfields through transformation, develop new oilfields, strengthen the tackling of scientific and technological problems, and strengthen experimentation in new technologies. This requires increased funds investment. However the economic difficulties of the state prevent much new increase in investment. This requires that we run enterprises with thrift and hard work, that we increase income and economize on expenditures, and strive to tap internal potential. In the

current difficult situation, the many oilfield staff and workers have carried forward the brilliant tradition of arduous pioneering of the early period of the battle for oil, and, relying on the sense of being master and sense of responsibility of the working class, have voluntarily steeled themselves to get through the difficult times and to share the difficulties faced by the state. We have adhered to the principle of "both contraction and development," done careful calculations and engaged in strict budgeting, done all we can in adopting new technology, adhered to high levels, have not exceeded the standards, and done more with less money. In nonproductive construction, we have followed the principle of doing things simply and thriftily and opposed grandiose plans and extravagant expenditure. In importing advanced equipment and technology, we have persisted in proceeding from the needs of oilfield production and in absorbing, digesting, and creating new equipment. We have not engaged in duplicate importation or importation of unnecessary equipment. Rather, our limited foreign exchange funds have been used where they get best results. We have improved the material and cultural lives of the staff and workers and, on the basis of developing production and raising labor productivity, have done what we have been capable of have and opposed the bad practices of excessive consumption and mutual vying. We have guided the staff and workers to save one kilowatt-hour of electricity here and one cubic meter of water there in order to produce an extra ton of oil, and have encouraged them to repair old things, make use of waste, and make the best use of everything. Every year the oilfield has thereby increased income or saved on expenditure by 100 to 200 million yuan. In the first half of this year, the broad numbers of staff and workers have seriously implemented the spirit of the Fifth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, deepened reform, engaged in economic improvement and rectification, stressed the overall national situation, and continued to struggle arduously and overcome the many difficulties faced in oilfield production and construction, including the fund shortage, insufficient electricity supply, and rising prices of raw materials. Thereby, in the first half of the year, 27.617 million tons of crude oil were produced, 144,000 tons above quota. Other major production and construction indicators also achieved the level where "half the year has gone and half the tasks have been completed."

The spirit of "being honest in three ways and strict in four aspects" which was formed during the early period of the battle for oil, is the product of combining a high degree of revolutionary spirit with a strict scientific attitude, and this is the quintessence of the Daqing spirit.

In recent years, we have persevered in carrying forward the spirit of "being honest in three ways and strict in four aspects." In work, we have stressed strictness, requiring that all information be complete and accurate, that engineering and work quality be strictly guaranteed, that the rules and regulations and operational rules be strictly observed, and that work discipline and labor discipline

be strictly implemented. This has been combined with strict examination and strict rewards and punishments. The main elements of this are: 1) In production management, a management system with the post responsibility system as its main part has been implemented. This implements the oilfield production and construction tasks and the economic and technological targets at the basic levels and clarifies tasks and responsibilities. We have continued with one or two post responsibility system inspections each year and implemented an organ and basic-level dual-directional inspection system. After the contracts for crude oil output volume were implemented in 1981, the post responsibility system also developed into five systems, including a vertical level-by-level contract system and a horizontal economic contract system. On the basis of the state tasks that the oilfield shoulders, an entire staff contract was implemented and level-by-level targets were gradually handed down. At the same time, we implemented the "two completes" (complete staff management and complete overall management) and the three "changes" (requiring the implementation of targets, standardization, and systematization), and put forward clear procedures and demands in all aspects of work. 2) In terms of democratic management, we have fully respected the position of the masses of staff and workers as masters. We regularly convene staff representatives meetings and have fully brought into play the roles of trade unions and staff representative congresses, and have actively accepted the supervision of the staff and workers. In implementing production, technological, and economic democracy, some major decisionmaking and deployment decisions by the enterprises are now made on the basis of the broad mass line. 3) In terms of materials and finance management, we have implemented strict economic accounting at each level, and even at each group and post, and have relied on the broad masses of staff and workers in managing finances. 4) In terms of engineering quality, we have achieved a quality-responsibility system that includes a combination of self-inspection, mutual inspection, and inspection by specialized staff, and have relied on the masses of staff and workers to achieve good quality. 5) In terms of livelihood management, we have gained an understanding of the masses' troubles and concerns and helped the staff and workers and their families to resolve difficulties, so that the broad numbers of staff and workers see the enterprise as their own family.

Raising the level of enterprise management has provided a dependable guarantee for the sustained and stable growth of oilfield production. Of the over 18,000 oil extraction and water injection wells, the close to 2,000 oil, water, and electricity stations, and the more than 46,000 pieces of major production equipment that are found throughout the entire oilfield, more than 90 percent are in fine condition. Tens of thousands of front-line workers have placed strict requirements on themselves and each day recorded millions of items of data that are then processed by a computer and analyzed, and the resultant information is then fed back to guide

production. The No. 4 work group in the No. 1 Oil Extraction Plant was the pioneer of the "honesty in three ways and strictness in four aspects" work style during the period of the battle for oil. The work team has already seen 14 changes of staff and the contingent's members are being constantly renewed. However, the brilliant traditions of "honesty in three ways and strictness in four aspects" and of "strictness and precision being the common practice" have been inherited and carried forward by the new generation of oil extraction workers. Over the last 10 years, this team has recorded more than 2.69 million items of data, which have been basically complete and correct. The oil and water well-utilization rate and equipment upkeep rate have both reached 100 percent. There are many diverse tasks to carry out in an oilfield enterprise like ours. If the masses did not have a sense of responsibility as masters, did not impose strict requirements on themselves, and did not have a scrupulous truth-seeking spirit, it would be impossible for us to do well in production.

In socialist modernization, a more important aspect of the truth-seeking spirit of "honesty in three ways and strictness in four aspects" is manifested in stressing science and relying on scientific and technological progress to achieve high, stable production in the oilfields. Oil is generally buried several kilometers underground and if one wants to understand the complex geological situation underground and understand the patterns of oil and gas movement and extract the oil and gas, it is necessary to adhere to the scientific attitude of practice first and to continually deepen one's knowledge of the oil and gas deposits and patterns of extraction. Following a prolonged period of oil extraction, it is natural to see a progressive decrease of available oil from the land. In order to maintain stable production, the broad masses of scientific and technical personnel at Daqing have joined with the workers and, through repeated experiments, have adopted new technology and have begun to exploit some thin oil layers that had previously not been considered economical to exploit. Added to this there has been prospecting in new areas, and this has meant that the geological resources of Daqing Oilfield have increased by over 1 billion tons since the early period of the battle for oil. This has created conditions for the oilfield to maintain high, stable production for a long period. Over the last 30 years, the oilfield has realized over 44,000 technological research results and 70 of these have reached or approached advanced world levels. Sixty-seven have won national-level prizes and 202 have won provincial- (or ministerial-) level prizes. Technological research in extracting oil during the high water-content period in the oilfield has reached advanced national standards and the water injection exploitation technology for high and stable production over a long period has won a state scientific and technological advancement special award. This has allowed the gradual formation of a combined geological theory and technology system involving prospecting, development, and the maintenance of high and stable production over a long period. Through proving

by experts, we have now been able to ensure that the 50-million-ton level of crude oil output at Daqing will be maintained for 20 years up to 1995 and may even extend till the end of the century.

The main reason the Daqing spirit is being continuously carried forward is that we continually educate the broad masses of staff and workers in adhering to the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization, in persisting in carrying forward the fine traditions of the party, and in persisting in ideological and political work. This results in the handing down from generation to generation of the spirit of "patriotism, pioneering, seeking truth, and devoting oneself," which has been formed since the battle for oil began. This has produced a strong congealing force and fighting force and, in the new situation, this will be continuously carried forward and be made more illustrious.

First, we have relied on the masses to educate themselves. Over the last few years, Daqing has continually developed the activities of "study Lei Feng, establish a new work style, study the Iron Man, and realize new achievements." At the end of each year, the staff and workers are organized to carry out "appraisal, comparison, selection, and citation" activities. In these, they sum up the year's work, cite models, and set down plans and measures. In this way, through these activities, the masses educate themselves. Last year, on the basis of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's directive to soberly consider the past and soberly consider the future, and in combination with the 30th anniversary of the development of the Daqing Oilfield, the whole oilfield developed the "great study, great discussion, great summing up, and great seeking of where we lag behind" activities, which had as their main parts adherence to the basic line of the party, adherence to faith in socialism and adherence to carrying forward the Daqing spirit. We have had the cadres and the masses engage in discussion about what, over the last few years of pummeling by the tide of bourgeois liberalization, "we have done too much of and what we have done too little of," and, in comparing ourselves with the demands of the four cardinal principles, "what we have upheld and what we have failed to uphold." Thereby, they have been able to sum up experiences and lessons and have been better able to adhere to and carry forward the Daqing spirit. Apart from leading groups seriously doing well in summing up, we have widely motivated the masses, in work groups and teams, to let everyone have their say and, through the form of stories, they have greatly stressed adherence to the four cardinal principles and reflected some of their own experiences that manifest the Daqing spirit. Some of them talked about the traditions of the period of the battle for oil, some spoke of how they tried to find why they lagged behind the advanced, and some spoke of growing to maturity and looking back on progress achieved. Not only did the workers talk, but the cadres also gave talks and even family members and the sons and daughters of workers gave talks. Over several months, through the entire oilfield, over 400,000 stories

were told. From these 17,000 were selected as models and more than 2,800 lecture meetings were held, and these people went on stage to talk about their own experiences. Since the beginning of this year, we have included these activities in the "three goods" education which stresses that "the Communist Party is good, socialism is good, and Daqing is good," and these stories further strengthened, on the rational level, faith in socialism. Through this vibrant mass self-education and mutual education, we have strengthened people's consciousness of firmly carrying forward the Daqing spirit in the new situation.

Second, we have taken positive education as the main ingredient and fully brought into play the role of the advanced model figures. During the early period of the battle for oil, "Iron Man" Comrade Wang Jinxi was established as a representative hero in the battle for oil. Even today he encourages the many oil workers to arduously pioneer and continually strive ahead. In the 1970's, the first group of "iron and steel drilling worker" pacesetter models, including Wu Quanqing, were established and, among the contingent of staff and workers, they had a great influence. Since the beginning of the 1980's, we have established a series of pacesetters including Shen Guan, the "iron-man model good team leader"; Chen Quanyou, the "selfless, dedicated oil-extraction worker"; Li Wanren, the "developer with mind set on reform"; Wang Sijun, the "scientific and technological worker who has vowed to adhere to his chosen course"; and Luan Guiying, the "good family dependent who has become prosperous through diligent labor mainly in agriculture." Among the 210,000 oil workers, these models created a strong influence and throughout the whole oilfield a marked atmosphere of striving for the glory of being advanced was evoked.

Third, we have placed the focal point of education imbued with the Daqing spirit on the young staff members and workers. The first lesson that new workers get when they enter the enterprise is a tour of the first oil well sunk during the battle for oil at Daqing, and an exhibition of the achievements of the "Iron Man." In addition, "veteran fighters" are called to recall the history of the team, the history of the oilfield, the history of the development of Daqing and to talk about the Daqing spirit and the "Iron Man spirit." The new workers are thus guided in the idea that "when one comes to Daqing, one becomes a Daqing person." The university graduates and technical middle-school graduates who are assigned to Daqing, apart from receiving education in the enterprise, are also assigned to the production front line to be tempered through fieldwork. There are also activities among the workers by which the experts train the apprentices and the veterans train the newcomers. At the same time, efforts have been put into the work of effecting a change in the ideas of those comrades who lag behind, so as to ensure that there is a constant renewal of the contingent's ranks and the Daqing spirit is ever-present. In the No. 1,205 drilling team, which "Iron Man" Comrade Wang Jinxi spurred

on while alive, the cadres have changed 12 times and none of the current 46 staff and workers actually saw the veteran "Iron Man" team leader. However, the "Iron Man" spirit still encourages them to continually advance. Under the leadership of the the current team leader, the national labor model Comrade Shen Guan, the workers of the team have struggled arduously and this team has become the first drilling team to have drilled 1,000 wells, with a combined depth of 1 million (meters).

Fourth, in education in the Daqing spirit and in the traditions of the battle for oil, the crux lies in having the leading cadres set an example through their actions. Under the specific historical conditions of the early 1960's, on the oil front the older generation of leading cadres with long experience of revolutionary struggle, earnestly practiced what they taught, and, relying on mass practice, fostered the Daqing spirit in the harsh environment. Over the last 30 years, this has produced great power and become a spiritual force that pulls the oilfield workers together and encourages them to exert themselves in achieving progress. An important aspect of this has been that the various levels of leading cadres have set an example with their own actions and taken the lead in providing a model, and in leading the way in implementing the party's line, principles, and policies. In the arduous early part of the battle for oil, the oilfield party committee repeatedly stressed the model role of leading cadres. Certain rules were agreed upon requiring that leading cadres maintain the fine tradition of arduous struggle and that they must not seek privilege; that they overcome bureaucratism and never become overbearing officials, that they accord with the style of "honesty in three ways and strictness in four aspects," and that they never become arrogant and never speak falsehoods. At the same time, we established stipulations and systems whereby the leading cadres go down to the lower levels to conduct research, to eat, live, and labor with the workers, whereby the basic-level cadres reside with the team and whereby those cadres who have not undergone basic-level tempering are required to make up the deficiency. In carrying forward the Daqing spirit under the new situation of reform and opening up, we have required the leading cadres to show a spirit of arduous struggle, to work diligently and to demonstrate lofty aspirations and ideals, and to show a capacity to pioneer and develop. We have repeatedly stressed that the leading cadres must take the lead in carrying forward the brilliant tradition of arduous struggle, must not make use of privilege, must successfully pass through the "money gate," "the power gate," and the "sons and daughters gate," must promote honesty and oppose corruption and must firmly oppose improper trends. In the distribution of bonuses, they must adhere to the principle that the front-line bonuses should be higher than the second-line bonuses and that the leading cadre bonuses should not exceed the average of the unit's bonuses. We have stipulated that the offices of leading cadres should not have sofas or carpets, that they travel by train when going to meetings, and that they eat

ordinary food when they go down to the basic levels. The two leading organ levels of bureau and plants have always maintained the fine tradition of "orienting toward the basic levels, orienting toward production and orienting toward the masses." The bureau leading cadres spend at least one-third of the year at the basic levels, while the plant or department leading cadres spend at least half their time at the basic levels. The leading cadres above department level establish year-round contact points at the basic levels and are responsible for the important safety work. The basic-level cadres work in a way so that "the workers on all three shifts see the leaders" and so that "the cadres get as much mud on them as the workers." These measures guarantee close links between the cadres and the masses, and manifest the fact that the cadres are the servants of the people.

The Motive Force and Guarantee for an Ever-Growing 'Yaohua'—A Survey of Yaohua General Glassworks in Qinhuangdao, Which Stepped Up Building of the Two Civilizations by Giving Full Play to Its Favorable Political Conditions

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[Text] The Yaohua General Glass Factory in Qinhuangdao has a 68-year history and is the largest comprehensive glass enterprise in our nation. Yaohua has five branch factories and one mine and has more than 11,000 employees. For many years, especially after 1985, this factory made good use of the political superiority of the party. Party members and the administrative staff work together as one. They are serious in undertaking the ideological and political work of the enterprise, they insist on simultaneous development of the two civilizations and depend wholeheartedly on the working class. This is why they are effective in mobilizing production and carrying out other work. For the last 11 years, Yaohua's profit has increased at the rate of 15 percent a year. Its sheet glass has won first prize in the national glasswork quality competition 11 consecutive times. Its special glasswork won a silver medal, and 11 products were rated superior by various provinces and by the Ministry of Industry. Yaohua's products have a nationwide market and are also exported to more than 60 countries and regions. They have won praise from their domestic and international customers. Since 1987 the factory has won the National May 1st Labor Prize for being a progressive collective, and the National Enterprise Management Prize for being an excellent enterprise. Yaohua is a Red Flag enterprise in the national construction business. The political and ideological work in this enterprise are rated superior. There are several factors contributing to Yaohua's success:

I. The Team Members Responsible for Party and Administrative Affairs Are United and Cooperate in Their Work

If an enterprise wants to maintain stability and growth, and if it wants to build the two civilizations, party leaders and administrative officials in this enterprise have to be unified, cooperative, and have a cordial relationship with each other. This is the most important prerequisite and the key to success. These people are the "backbone" of an enterprise, the center that attracts and appeals to everyone. Since implementation of the director responsibility system in Yaohua, the major concern of the party workers and administrative staff, particularly their leaders, has been to carry out the cause of the party. The leaders do not care whether they can get more power or whether their positions are high enough. They cooperate and coordinate with each other so that the enterprise may continue to make products and to produce qualified personnel. The party committee gives full support to the establishment and implementation of the director responsibility system. The party committee takes the initiative to help the director, and the party committee members work as the political core of the enterprise. The director respects the party committee. When there is a major decision to be made in the factory, or if there is hiring or firing of administrative cadres in middle-ranking positions or above to be done, the director will ask for and listen to the party committee's opinion. He understands that the party committee should oversee the administrative work. The unity and the cooperation of the party and the administration have given the enterprise strong and unified leadership. Their only concern is to lay a strong foundation and improve production. The leaders assign the following responsibilities to themselves:

First, they must support each other. The party committee considers that the director's problems are also the party committee's problems. The party committee members' job is to help in the spheres of production and management, and to reform and develop the contract system. After the factory has decided the administrative goals for the year, the party committee has to make up a "draft to safeguard ideological and political work" and arrange their work in order to focus on the accomplishment of the administrative goals. The party committee will then go to party organizations at every level and urge them to make plans and take measures to help the enterprise reach the administrative goals. The party committee will fulfill its duties as "enforcer and supervisor" throughout the production and administrative process. When the enterprise must formulate policies for production and management, the party committee helps the director by conducting research and studies beforehand. When a policy must be implemented, the party committee has to spread the news and stimulate and mobilize all party members and people. When the factory must conduct an inspection, the party committee helps the administrative office analyze data and feed back timely information. The responsible members of the party committee are always present in factory work

and administrative meetings. They are familiar with and understand administrative work. They actively support administrative work. When a factory director is in need of help, in order to take the pressure off the director, the party committee always takes initiative in offering its help. At the same time, the factory director truly depends on the party. During the process of deciding major issues in the factory, the director will invite the party committee members to express their opinions. The party committee discusses and checks the appointments and the dismissals of factory administrative personnel. When assigning administrative work, the party committee carries out ideological work among workers. Administratively, the party committee takes part in implementing special programs such as "quality month" and "double increase and double economy." The factory leading group also invites the party committee members to participate in special production projects, and in other work in order to strengthen political ideological work. The factory leading group fully supports the work of the party committee political work department. It provides help to the party committee activity fund, and helps to schedule its activities. Sometimes it conducts reports on political developments, and even lectures on party matters. Second, factory directors and party committee secretaries help cover for each other. At work the leaders of factories and party committees will only do what is best for the overall situation and for protecting the collective interest. No one hesitates to shoulder the burden whenever there are problems. They will take active measures and deal with the situation. This is how directors and party committee secretaries work with each other. In 1986, when the administration of the general factory was assigning apartments, some retired cadres refused to give up their old apartments after they had already moved into their new ones; people started to complain. The party leaders realized that, because he was new to the job, the factory director would have difficulty in dealing with this problem. Party committee secretary Xing Haicun decided that he would help the factory director out. Xing solved the problem by giving talks to cadres and retired cadres at several meetings. Party committee members and factory directors have mutual understanding when they work together. Factory directors are responsible for production and business management, but ideological and political work are also included as part of their duties. Party committee members believe that the most important part of their ideological work is to help factory directors solve their daily problems. This has given meaning to the party committee's role as an overseer, and thus a director has a better idea of the function of a party committee. Yaohua has been effective in using the superiority of collective leadership. Third, there is no communication problem between party committees and the directors' offices. There are meetings and individual talks. They see each other frequently, open their minds to each other, and exchange ideas. Their open communication has given them an intimate relationship. The party committee and administrative office, especially the leaders from both sides, do their jobs with the party principles in mind, and

they conscientiously safeguard the unity of the work teams. Because of this, there has never been a problem in dividing responsibilities. They offer each other mutual support and work together to finish every project. This is the best way to build the two civilizations.

II. Yaohua Employs Various Methods To Uphold Ideological Education, and Continues To Improve the Ideological and Political Qualities of the Party Members, Cadres, and Staff

Yaohua has always emphasized that it has the duty to improve the ideological and political qualities of party members, cadres, and workers. It must train a new generation of socialists with ideals and morals, culture and discipline. The enterprise considers that this is what the development of the two civilizations is about and that is why it has never discontinued the systematic implementation of ideological education. In 1985 and 1986, when the reform and open policy had just started, many party members, cadres, and workers were confused about the new situation. Factory leaders hosted the activity of "three talks and two discussions." The leaders talked to party members about ideals, to model workers about contributions, and to young workers about discipline. They discussed the national situation and policies with the people. All the cadres and workers were given an education on ideals, discipline, the present situation, and policies. In order to make the program more effective, the general factory selected six models of progressive workers and had them give 30 reports to different sections of the factory. Attendance at these talks numbered about 9,000. This program has helped employees raise their ideological consciousness, understand the political situation correctly, and increase their confidence in reform. In 1987, the enterprise needed to strengthen administrative control. Party committee leaders and factory directors took this opportunity to educate everyone about enterprise morality and spirit. They employed the colorful style of the self-education method. They inspired and guided their workers by using the concept of professional ethics and the enterprise spirit. Afterwards, the workers had more love for the party, for socialism, for the enterprise, and for their jobs. More than 200 types of production projects became models of professional ethics. In 1988 the enterprise began to implement the contract responsibility management system. Meanwhile, the cost of raw materials went up tremendously. It was a difficult time, and many enterprise employees, affected by the undesirable situation, felt discouraged. The enterprise decided to launch a program called "learn more, discuss more, and get more new ideas." Soon after, the enterprise accomplished the task of implementing the contract system. At the beginning of 1989, because of the overheated economy and inflation, many workers began to have doubts about the reform and open policy. In order to unify everyone's minds, the enterprise organized an in-service educational program on the political situation. The program was called "four talks and three reviews" and workers were the lecturers. They talked about the situations in our country, the market, factory, and the home. They

reviewed the 10-year reform and looked at all the changes. They analyzed the development of Yaohua and the changes in workers' lives. Through these activities, many employees began to understand more the principle of "one center and two basic points." This year some employees had difficulties understanding the economic situation in the factory. They did not feel stimulated and they had no sense of responsibility. Some workers refused to improve their technical skills and the standard of their work was low. Others had no discipline at all. They were irresponsible and turned out poor-quality work. A small number of cadres were not interested in their jobs. They passed their work around and refused to take responsibility. There were too many job-related accidents and there was insufficient control. Yaohua leaders decided they must tackle this situation. They launched an educational series and the theme of the program was "being the master of society." This educational project was combined with the work of reorganization and rectification. The program included profound discussions on the national condition and on the condition of the enterprise. There were various types of activities promoting the idea of "overcoming obstacles by dedicated work." The factory provided channels for workers to give constructive suggestions. Many models were set up to show that being a master of society also means being responsible. Discipline has been reinstituted and the control system has been improved. Factories set up classes for workers to get training and learn new skills. The purpose of these activities was to make cadres and workers more conscious of the fact that they are their own masters, and to realize that they should contribute more to the building of the two civilizations in their factories. Also, high-ranking cadres have had to study about the common law, and the technical staff has had to participate in a competition called "upholding (upholding new morals), comparing (comparing contributions), and learning (learning from progressive workers)." On the whole, the enterprise has done a solid job.

When the enterprise gives its workers training in ideology, it stresses the importance of first educating party members. The goal is to upgrade the political and ideological qualities of party members, because party members should be pioneers who can mobilize the workers. For the last few years the enterprise has insisted on teaching party members the basic theories of Marxism. Party members are also taught about the party lines, guiding principles, and the policies of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. This is to help party members stay on the correct political path. After the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Plenary Sessions of the 13th CPC Central Committee were held, the enterprise immediately offered training sessions to party members and leading cadres, and to the people who were deputy section chiefs or above. The enterprise mobilized all party members to study deeply the essence of the plenary sessions and the important speeches made by the leading comrades of the Central Committee. Thus, everyone has acquired a unified ideological understanding. In the past few years, Yaohua has always

emphasized ideological development, because its leaders understand the need to upgrade the overall quality of party members. First, party leaders always observe new party recruits carefully and offer them training. They insist that all new recruits be trained at the party school in the general factory. New recruits study and become familiar with the party program and constitution. They earn their graduation certificates after training. This procedure is called the "party's entrance gate" and is meant to maintain the quality of party members. Second, party leaders continue to educate people on basic knowledge of the party. For party members, old and new, classes on basic knowledge of the party will always be held. New members, even after they have been accepted by the party, will still have many problems in ideology; old members must reinvigorate their party spirit and push themselves harder toward a higher party standard. For these reasons, party leaders give training classes every year. There were 36 classes held since 1986, and the number of party members admitted was 2,000. This year, to celebrate "1 July," the party committee of the general factory organized a contest on basic knowledge of the party. The contest helped party members study the basic knowledge and enlivened the political and cultural lives of the workers. Third, party leaders continue to evaluate and judge the abilities of members. For several years now party committee leaders have set up an evaluation program that enables them to combine objective conditions, job requirements, and personal abilities, and use these categories as the criteria for judgment. They also use the method of criticism and self-criticism. The evaluation process is held within the party, but the party members will listen to outside opinions. Both party members and the masses feel that the program is inspiring and educational. Fourth, party leaders continue to implement disciplinary education. The new political situation requires that party members have political discipline and answer to the demands of the open and reform policy. The leaders of Yaohua understand this point well. They enforce party discipline and strengthen disciplinary education. Once a year party leaders will single out and give awards to outstanding grassroots-level party organizations and party members. There are other activities as well, such as the one called "party members talking about images." Through these activities and programs, party members can receive their ideological education and establish their prestige among the masses.

Yaohua includes the teaching of enterprise spirit as a part of ideological education. The enterprise educates, encourages, and stimulates its workers with the "Yaohua spirit." This spirit is what motivates everyone to work. To have Yaohua spirit means "to work hard and to be disciplined, ready to fight, and eager to forge ahead." The enterprise tries to motivate its workers with this spirit. In fact, Yaohua spirit is the spiritual force that helps the enterprise go forward all the time. After 1987 the enterprise combined Yaohua spirit with six other issues to make the spirit more effective in building the two civilizations at Yaohua. Yaohua spirit is combined

with the movement called "double increase and double economy," with strong democratic control, with ideological and political work, with professional ethics education, with serious cadres and a well-run administration, and with young worker education. Combining all these factors makes the enterprise spirit more up-to-date and more concrete. People will not think of the "spirit" as merely an abstract term, but remember its rich content and its specific demands instead. In order to make Yaohua spirit widely known, the leaders paste the 16 words of "Yaohua spirit" on various sections in the factories and in all eye-catching places. A song about the spirit has been composed and is sung by the employees. Yaohua spirit has taken root among the staff and has motivated the workers. Meanwhile, leaders make public announcements about model workers who are full of Yaohua spirit. "Yaohua men" have been chosen from many production projects, systems, work levels, and staff. Yaohua men are the example and the goal for all the workers. Each worker is challenged to "spread the Yaohua spirit and become an honorable Yaohua man." Last June, 20 workers from the Yaohua Glass Factory went to Tangshan to work on an anticorrosion project. Working conditions in that factory were extremely difficult, but the workers were hardworking and were always ready to overcome any obstacles. They finished their job quickly and with flying colors. The district chief of the Eastern Mine District in Tangshan was moved by these hardworking people: "I must report this to the Tangshan City party committee, and to the people of Tangshan City. We have imported a millionaire; Yaohua spirit is his name!"

III. The Party and the Administration Combine Forces, Accomplish the Goal for Ideological and Political Work, and Truly Implement the Policy of "Grasping With Both Hands"

In order to succeed in ideological and political work, individual forces must be mobilized and incorporated. The ideological and political work in Yaohua has been awarded national honor because, in this enterprise, the party committee leads and the administration, union, and Communist Youth League [CYL] follow closely behind. When promoting ideological and political work, different organizations have different approaches and individual characteristics. Their activities are always in line with the central planning of the party committee. For instance, under the leadership of the party committee, the CYL committee has succeeded in working closely with the party, administration, and worker organizations. Because the CYL committee understands the characteristics of young workers, its members know how to cultivate more workers with "four haves." Members of the CYL committee are knowledgeable about the situation in the enterprise and know how to make the best of it when pursuing their project. Their work has been praised many times by the National Construction Bureau, the Central Committee of the CYL, and the Provincial (City) Committee of the CYL. The CYL committee members incorporate their activities to promote the "four haves" personality through the party

committee's educational program on ideals and discipline. They set up models, give briefings, exchange dialogue, and conduct social research. Activities such as "the person next to me is an advanced element" or "I add color to my league badge" help clarify the misunderstanding young workers often have on reform, openness, ideals, and discipline. These activities have achieved good results. At the beginning of 1986, the factory was haunted by problems in production, capital construction, and sales. Party committee members appealed to the workers and asked them to carry on the Yaohua spirit. These comrades understood that the Yaohua spirit was the spiritual achievement and glorious tradition of the Yaohua men of the older generation, who for several decades had been so dedicated to the factory. How to get hold of the spirit is the difficult task for young workers. Therefore, the party committee decided that it wouldn't hurt to "learn from old party members, cadres, and workers, and thus invigorate Yaohua." The party committee mobilized cadres to visit the "three olds" and asked the "three olds" to share their experiences with everyone. Lectures were organized. The theme of these lectures was "the 'three olds' remembering the past and young workers looking ahead." These activities taught young cadres and workers about the good tradition, and at the same time rekindled warm relations between new and old cadres, and between new and old workers. During the turmoil and the counterrevolutionary riot last year, the party committee hosted an educational program for CYL members in factories. The theme of the program was "with the party in my heart." The night before 1 July, the party committee held a meeting about this theme. In the meeting 24 new young party members were sworn in. The program served to reinforce the party concept in the CYL members.

In order to strengthen and improve ideological and political work in Yaohua, and to implement the policy of "grasping with both hands," the party committee, administrative office, and workers union work closely together and coordinate their efforts. They consider developing ideological and political work as their responsibility. They have had four achievements. First, they managed to raise 620,000 yuan and build a closed-circuit TV station, even though the financial situation had been tight since 1987. The station broadcasts many lively reports on progressive models and on important business to the workers. Leaders can communicate their ideas directly to the workers and their families. This has been an effective way to do propaganda. Second, factory workers have formed a study group to study ideology. They meet regularly to discuss the present situation of ideological and political work, and they write articles on work theories. Last year, they edited a book called *The Art of Ideological and Political Work*. The book, published by China News Publications, is a collection of articles written by workers; it includes 27 theses and five essays based on personal experiences. It is now a part of a series of books about enterprise journalism. Third, Yaohua has renovated and rebuilt the party school in the factory. The school now has a bigger staff and more

theorists and occupies parts of the newly built cultural building. Yaohua spent 12,00 yuan in buying desks and chairs. The training of new party members has finally become formalized. Fourth, last year on Oct 1, YAOHUA NEWS was created. It has become an additional area and extra tool through which the factory can do propaganda.

Even during the last few years when the climate was not good for ideological and political work, Yaohua was daring enough to "sail against the wind." The result of this bravery is that all organizations have survived, cadres have stayed on their teams, the ideological front has not collapsed, and morale has been good. From the general factory to the branch factories, from workshops to work groups, there will always be a comprehensive organization and system for ideological and political work. Ideological and political work in Yaohua is not just a concern of the various levels of party organizations, it is also the duty of administrative offices, workers unions, and the Communist Youth League. The job of doing ideological work belongs to the leaders' offices in the central and branch factories, and to the work units on lower levels. All organizations and cadres in the enterprises share a common understanding of this and they are happy to share responsibility. This is how the "combined force" of Yaohua is formed, how Yaohua succeeds in developing ideological and political work, and how the enterprise manages to implement the policy of "grasping with both hands."

IV. The Center of Yaohua Will Always Be Production and Management; Ideological and Political Work Will Always Function as the "Lifeline" for Yaohua; The Work Will Safeguard the Fulfilling of Production Tasks and Economic Quotas

The leaders of the party committee and administrative office in Yaohua believe that the center of ideological guidance should be related to production and business management. They make sure that ideological and political work can be merged with economic activities and permeate the entire production and management system. They concentrate their effort on helping the factory overcome "obstacles." The party committee of the enterprise wants to ensure that every project can be finished smoothly. It is, therefore, important that party members be prepared ideologically because they should always be the ones setting good examples. Before the factory starts an important project and has to assign jobs, the party organizations at all levels first meet with party members and explain the assignment to them. Party members are asked to set good examples and mobilize the masses. Party members must remain the central force behind every key project. When Yaohua had to construct two national key projects—the Fufa Construction Project and the Jiujiyao Construction Project—the party committee organized a four-year program for young workers. The theme of that program was to "dedicate our youth for the development of key projects and fight to be a special force in the new Long March." The party

committee organized 26 special forces for young workers. Attendance in the program was 4,000.

Unions, the administrative department, and the technical skill department frequently organized job-related contests for workers. Also, workers were offered many opportunities to voice their opinions. In the first half-year, the number of participants in skill contests was 9,276, and 274 work projects were involved. In a city-wide contest for the best skilled workers, Yaohua received the highest number of awards. Of the 1,962 suggestions given by the workers, 934 have been accepted by the factory and 587 have been put into practice. The economic benefits gained from these suggestions were worth 3.2 million yuan. When there is emergency repair work for the big kiln in any factory, a temporary party committee will be established in that factory. Also, each work section has to have a temporary branch committee. This is to ensure that ideological and political work can exert its influence at the right time and place. Comrades from the main party committee and administrative office visit the site to observe and evaluate the ability of the party members and cadres. And the party members and cadres do their best to motivate workers. The party committee secretary holds a weekly meeting where leading members from the party committee and the administrative office meet together. Twice a month the meeting is held to discuss party affairs. During these meetings, they discuss the problems in production and business management, exchange thoughts, analyze ideological thinking, define the focus for ideological and political work, and learn about different work methods.

During the last few years the enterprise has been affected by three phenomena. The first is the increased price of raw materials and energy. the enterprise has lost 11 million yuan in annual profits since 1987. Second, it has been difficult to obtain enough raw materials and energy or to find rail transportation. Any slight delay means disruption of production. Third, the market for glass-work has changed rapidly; it has changed from a seller's to a buyer's market. Furthermore, the market is becoming saturated. This has created a bigger burden for the enterprise. Under these circumstances leaders from the party and the administration incorporate their efforts as much as possible. They maintain good working relations. The party committee is the political center and the director's office is the administrative center. These "two centers" are now combined as "one center." Cadre leaders have taken active measures to ensure the close relationship between the political team and administrative team and to ensure that ideological and political work will always give backup help for production and management. From making yearly plans and setting up contract quotas at the beginning of the year to overcoming the summer season as the most undesirable time for production and to accomplishing the economic quota at the last quarter, comrades responsible for ideological and political work will always be present and ready to help the administrative department reach its target. At

the same time, factory leaders depend wholeheartedly on the working people. Together they can overcome any obstacle. All these years Yaohua has insisted on holding worker-representative meetings, work-control meetings, and factory-affair meetings. Whenever the factory has an important issue to study, worker representatives are invited to take part in discussions and help look for a solution to the problem. Also, party leaders try to recruit members from the front line of production. In the last three years, more than 200 new recruits—more than 60 percent of the total number—are from the front line. The party committee has been most effective in motivating the workers and successful in making them understand the sense of being masters. This is why the enterprise can be depended on to fulfill its economic quota. From January to August, the amount of sheet glass—Yaohua's major product—produced was 68 percent of the total amount required by the quota, and the gross value of industrial output was 82.2 percent of the amount planned for the year. Yaohua has thus managed to maintain a reasonable growth rate.

How Should We Understand the Value of Man?

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in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 90 pp 43-44

[Article by Feng Yuzhang (7458 5713 4545)]

[Text] What do we know about the value of man? This is a question that many young people are interested in. This is also a question which must be answered by Marxists.

During the past few years our society has been flooded with a lot of incorrect ideology, particularly in the field of value systems. Everyone is involved in the discussion of the value of man. Many trendy schools of value systems have come into existence; each tries to dominate young people's minds. Some are supporters of the general principle of capitalist society: "Money defines the value of man." People who believe in this value openly advocate that the goal and the meaning of man are "knowing how to grab money" and "being able to make money." Some people have covered their propaganda so that it appears as if it has a theoretical foundation. They advertise their incorrect and harmful value system as a "new theory" and a "new system." For instance, at one time people were told by the advocates of a popular value system that "the value of man is the man himself," and that "the fundamental characteristic of man as man is that he thinks the highest value of man is himself." This is to say that we must explain and understand the value of man by means of "man himself." It is true that a man is conscious of his own action; this is what distinguishes human beings from other things. But man is not an abstract noun. He is substantial and historical. The people who advocate this idea use "man himself" as a philosophical term. Its particular meaning is derived from the analogy used by Feuerbach, who described the essence of man as a simple and natural "resemblance." Karl Marx said, "Feuerbach's 'resemblance' is an

internal, soundless similarity that naturally links people together."¹ Marx also said, "What Feuerbach says is the 'man himself,' not the 'historical man in real life.'"² Therefore, when these people say that the value of man is "man himself," they in fact mean man is equal to a simple biological category of "resemblance." Their interpretation of the value of man is related to the value system in humanism. This value system can only describe the difference between human beings and animals; it cannot explain the human value in reality and in history. It won't answer the question of why there could be completely different or even contradictory values in various historical circumstances or in contemporary society when, according to the theory of "man himself" and "resemblance," all men are supposedly the same. One would like to know why there is such a different value system between revolutionaries and reactionary rulers, between heroes and criminals? Can the theory of "man himself" and "resemblance" possibly explain and clarify these facts?

During the last two years there has been another value system called "ego realization." People who advocate this ideology announce that "I am my own god," that the "ego" is the "only subject that can determine one's own value" or "decide one's own value system," and "the person himself is the only one who can define the meaning and the value of his life." To these people, no one should be so ridiculous as to "be adapted to the demands of society," "answer the call of society," or "accept the prerequisites of social value." For them, every action has to be "designed by the ego" and the purpose of all actions is "ego realization." Here "ego" replaces "self," and only the "ego" can appraise and determine one's value. But common sense tells us that the value of anything can be determined only in terms of its relation to other things. A person is both a subject and an object. His value does not depend on how his ego feels about himself; it is measured by history and society. If the only way to understand human value is to ignore objective standards and social values, to cut off personal relations with society and with others, and depend only on one's ego, then what kind of scientific evaluation is that? What it means is that only "God" can understand this sort of "value." Some advocates believe that if they respect historical rules and follow the necessary path of history, they will become "slaves depending on the outside world." They champion the independent "ego." Their "ego" is the primary factor in the outside world and in social history. The "outlook of an individual" depends on how the individual "designs his own life." People who believe in "ego realization" despise objective rules, society, and the people. To a great extent, the philosophical foundation of their theory comes from existentialism and solipsism.

The value systems mentioned above have something in common. First, their theoretical foundations deny and deviate from the historical materialism of Marxism. They talk about the value of man, while at the same time, they separate themselves from the concrete substance of

historical development, from social and collective relations, and from man's labor and contribution to society. This is not the way to explain human values scientifically. Second, in practice, they adore and encourage egoism and extreme individualism. Some of their advocates have repeatedly accused the principles of socialism and collectivism of "smothering individual values." They slander both the belief in personal sacrifice for the sake of collective benefit and the belief in selfless dedication. They call this belief the "loss of ego." They have even said that the idea of "being totally and selflessly devoted to the benefit of other people" is "false and hypocritical." They have said that to them the concept of the general well-being of the country, race, and society is "dead." These mistaken concepts on human values go hand in hand with incorrect ideology and the denial of the four cardinal principles. Their echoing each other has had an extremely bad influence.

How then should we understand the value of man? The basic principles and basic methodology of historical materialism can provide us with guidelines.

Historical materialism does not explain history from the viewpoint of human nature. Historical materialism is based on the foundation of realistic history. It tells us that, for a society to survive and develop, people must first participate in productive labor. It further explains that the history of human society is the process of systematic development based on the contradictory movement between productivity and the means of production. In participating in productive activity, people are molded into different characters in accordance with their economic status. Hence, they transform themselves historically. Every person places demands on society for a chance to survive and to grow. At the same time that he contributes to society in many ways, and is able to influence society as well.

Therefore, from the viewpoint of historical materialism, human value includes the two aspects of mutual contact. On the one hand, an individual establishes his status in society. That is to say, society respects and satisfies the individual. On the other hand, an individual has a meaningful role in society. He must fulfill his duty and pay his tribute. Since man, in reality, is the man of society and of history, the study of human value should be summarized as the study of the historical conditions surrounding him and the study of the relations between his activities and historical development. No one should study the value of man in abstract and independent terms. The only way to understand the value of man is to conduct the study in a scientific manner.

The development process of human history follows objective rules. The masses create history. The culmination of people's activities becomes human history. For this reason, the masses are the masters of history. However, under the system of exploitation, the two aspects of human value were critically divided. The only way people could survive, develop, feel respected, and satisfied in society was to conduct revolutionary struggle and

overturn the system of exploitation. The establishment of a socialist system in our nation ended the historical condition that had split up the two aspects of the value of man. Our socialist system has created a wide-open future, putting the two aspects together. People have become the masters of the country and society, and the value of man has never been higher. Today, what prevents us from reaching for a higher value of life, and from finding satisfaction and getting respect from society, is not the unreasonable social system. The obstacle comes from insufficient economic and cultural development, a situation with historical causes—from some defects of our system, from our shortcomings, and from the mistakes we have made. To solve all these problems we must follow the party's basic principles, promote socialist construction and reform, and work hard for the material and spiritual civilization of socialism.

It should be obvious to us that if we are to succeed in the struggle to overturn the system of exploitation and to establish a socialist and modernized nation, we have to follow the Communist Party leadership and depend on the collective effort of the masses. Generally speaking, only when the people and the collective succeed in pursuing their cause can our laborers achieve individual growth, open a new world, and create a more favorable condition for themselves. The fact is, if the socialist cause does not prosper in our country, then there is no way laborers can increase their demands or seek more satisfaction from personal development. This is why we need people to take more initiative in the building and reform of socialism. We must work, struggle, fulfill our duties, and contribute. According to the proletariat's outlook on the world and life, the value of man does not depend solely on whether or not his request for survival and growth is satisfied and respected by society. More important, man is judged by how he involves himself in the strong current of historical creation and how he carries out his responsibility or what he contributes to the development of history, the progress of society, and the cause of the people.

That is to say, a man is judged by whether his activities follow the current of historical progress, and whether his activities satisfy the need of historical development and promote the benefit of the people. If a man's activities agree with the trend of historical progress, conform to the law of historical development and the people's benefit, and if a man performs his duty well, then his life and work are of great value. The more he can satisfy the demands of social development and contribute to the benefit of the people, the higher his value and honor. In concluding his opinion on the development of Chinese progressive intellectuals, Comrade Jiang Zemin said, "The benefit of the people and the well-being of the country were their priorities. They dedicated all their energy on the independence and prosperity of their motherland, and on the liberation and happiness of the people. They considered this the highest value of life." With this admirable value in mind, contributors from

various battlefronts composed many glorious songs of life, hoisted the flag of patriotism, socialism, and communism, and became the great force that propelled and advanced our cause. Naturally, their hard work and glorious achievements were respected by the people, praised, and rewarded by society.

Some people think that we have placed too much emphasis on following historical law, answering the call of the times, and working only for the benefit of the people. They say we have "denied the subjective nature of man." This is not a logical viewpoint. The scientific understanding of man's subjectivity should not be antagonistic to the restrictive nature of objective law and objective conditions. Whether we have to struggle against nature or against society, we will be restricted by the objective environment. Only if we respect objective law and obey the law when we work, can we hope to achieve success. In practice, we play a dynamic role in the understanding of the law. At the same time, we actively improve the world on the basis of objective law. This is the way the dynamic subjectivity of man manifests itself. Some people think that, if they carry the banner of the subjectivity of man, they can deny the restrictive nature of historical inevitability and deny individual dependence on society and the collective. They pronounce enthusiastically that "the ego is the center of the universe," and that "the highest ideal of life" is to have "designs by ego" and "be independent" of historical law. This is like a person grabbing his own hair and saying that he is trying to make himself rise from the earth. The "egomaniac" value system that overrides historical law, society, and the people will only lead people astray, ruin young minds, and harm society. This viewpoint on the value of man has nothing in common with a scientific value system and is contradictory to scientific belief.

Footnotes

1. *The Complete Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 3, p. 5.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

Why Do We Say That the Concrete Analysis of Concrete Problems Is the Living Soul of Marxism?

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in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 90 pp 45-46

[Article by Zhu Tiezhi (2612 6993 1807)]

[Text] The process of the concrete analysis of concrete problems is in fact a process of analyzing the particularity of contradictions. We live in a world of contradictions. There are contradictions in everything, and contradictions in different things have their own particularity. We must further study the particularity of contradictions in order to resolve contradictions. Comrade Mao Zedong called this "the foundation of our knowledge of things." Special contradiction constitutes

the particular essence of a thing which differentiates it from other things. It is the internal cause and basis for the diverse differences between different things in this world. "Unless we study the particularity of contradiction, we have no way of determining the particular essence of a thing which differentiates it from other things, no way of discovering the particular cause or particular basis for the movement or development of a thing, and no way of distinguishing one thing from another."¹ Lenin called the concrete analysis of concrete conditions, that is, the concrete analysis of the particularity of contradictions in things, as the most essential thing in Marxism, the living soul of Marxism.

First, concrete analysis of concrete problems is the fundamental requirement of Marxist philosophy for the analysis of the particularity of contradiction. The dialectical materialist theory of knowledge tells us that man's cognitive activities invariably extend from knowing individual and particular things to knowing things in general. Man first knows the particular essence of things before he can move on to make generalizations and know the common essence of things. In more concrete terms, first, there is the particularity of the form of motion of matter. The special contradictions in different forms of motion of matter constitute the particular essence of different forms of motion of matter. Since to know things is to know the forms of motion of matter, we must study the particularity of contradiction in different forms of motion of matter. Next, there is particularity of contradiction in each process in the long course of development of each form of motion of matter. The particular essence of each process is determined by the fundamental contradiction that runs through that process. We cannot know the particularity of contradiction in different stages of a process without concrete analysis of concrete contradictions. Further, there is particularity in the position and role of a contradiction and its various aspects. In complicated systems of contradictions, the development of different contradictions and the two aspects of each contradiction are uneven. Their position and role are also different. There are principal and nonprincipal contradictions, as well as the principal and secondary aspects of a contradiction. When studying the particularity of a contradiction, we must make a point of analyzing these two conditions. Last, principal and nonprincipal contradictions, as well as the principal and secondary aspects of a contradiction, transform themselves into each other under given conditions. Hence, we must be good at analyzing the particularity of various contradictory aspects of developing things, flexibly adapt to new situations, study new problems, and blaze new trails. In short, as Comrade Mao Zedong said, "In studying the particularity of any kind of contradiction—the contradiction in each form of motion of matter, the contradiction in each of its processes of development, the two aspects of the contradiction in each process, the contradiction at each stage of a process, and the two aspects of the contradiction at each stage—in studying the particularity of all these contradictions, we must not

be subjective and arbitrary, but must analyze it concretely. Without concrete analysis there can be no knowledge of the particularity of any contradiction."²

Second, concrete analysis of concrete problems is an important principle and a scientific methodology followed by Marxist political parties in formulating correct lines, principles, and policies. Marxism only points out, on the macroscopic level, the road to be followed in the proletarian revolution and in building socialism. The universal truth it reveals is of a general nature. In order to run a country well, it is also necessary to combine the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete conditions of that country. There should be "one key for each padlock." In this respect, our party has its successful experience as well as its lessons of failure. In semi-colonial and semi-feudal old China, the principal contradiction was the contradiction between imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat-capitalism on the one hand and the masses of the people on the other. This determined that the Chinese revolution could only be a democratic revolution against imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat-capitalism. The Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee affirmed that, after the basic completion of the socialist transformation, the principal contradiction that remains to be resolved is the contradiction between the people's ever-growing material and cultural needs and backward social production. It suggested shifting the focus of party and government work to socialist modernization with economic construction as the central task. This strategic shift has brought our cause back to the track of healthy development. On the concrete analysis of concrete problems, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has set a brilliant example for us to follow. The spirit of concrete analysis of concrete problems was embodied in his call for the comprehensive and accurate understanding of Mao Zedong Thought, his clear-cut opposition to "the two whatevers," as well as his efforts to establish the line of seeking truth from facts ideologically, politically, and organizationally. His advocacy of the "one country, two systems" concept, in particular, is the vivid embodiment of concrete analysis of concrete problems. This concept is based on the concrete analysis of China's past and present conditions as well as the actual international situation. It has won the unanimous support of people at home and abroad as it respects both history and reality, gives equal importance to principle and flexibility, stresses both unity and diversity, and sees the fundamental antithesis between socialism and capitalism as two different social systems, as well as the possibility that these two opposite systems can coexist in one unified entity for a given period.

Third, concrete analysis of concrete problems is also a scientific method of thinking and method of work. Concrete analysis of concrete problems can help us avoid metaphysical one-sidedness and prevent the possibility of overlooking the other aspects when opposing one aspect. In *On Contradiction*, Comrade Mao Zedong cited dogmatists as typical examples of people who are not adept at the concrete analysis of concrete problems,

calling them "lazy bones" in thinking and in action. He said, "Where our dogmatists err on this question is that, on the one hand, they do not understand that we have to study the particularity of contradiction and know the particular essence of individual things before we can adequately know the universality of contradiction and the common essence of things, and that, on the other hand, they do not understand that after knowing the common essence of things, we must go further and study the concrete things that have not yet been thoroughly studied or have only just emerged."³ The mistakes made by Comrade Zhao Ziyang had many causes. In terms of the theory of knowledge, it was a case of the estrangement of subjectivity and objectivity. In other words, he was out of touch with national conditions and reality and went against the ideological line of seeking truth from facts. For instance, his one-sided insistence that inflation was "unavoidable" when inflation was an evident problem was, in fact, a passive attitude toward the principle of stabilizing the economy. When it was evident that ideological and political work in enterprises was greatly weakened, he still called for "transformation" and so forth. When it was evident that bribery and other corrupt practices had already aroused the indignation of the broad masses, he still one-sidedly stressed the inevitability of corruption. People within and outside the party who stood fast to their stand of bourgeois liberalization even divorced themselves from national conditions and reality. They vainly attempted to indiscriminately copy capitalist political and economic systems and the sense of value of the West and to bring about total Westernization in China. However, it has been proven repeatedly by history and reality that "if China does not persist in socialism in the years to come but instead chooses, as some people advocate, to return to the capitalist road, and thus once more give rise to a capitalist class by fattening it with the sweat and toil of the laboring people, then with so huge a population and so low a level of social productive forces, the majority of the people can only be reduced once more to an extremely impoverished status. This kind of capitalism can only be primitive capitalism of the compradore type, and can only reduce the Chinese people of all nationalities once more to dual enslavement by the foreign capitalists and China's own exploiting classes."⁴

We may say that whether or not we can uphold the Marxist principle of concrete analysis of concrete problems, that is, whether or not we can uphold the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, is the key to the success of our revolution and construction. Practice has proven that when this principle is firmly implemented, revolution and construction will succeed; when we go against this principle, revolution and construction will suffer setbacks. Under the situation of reform and opening up, it is particularly important that we be good at making concrete and in-depth analysis of intricate and complex contradictions. Only in this way can we enhance our understanding of objective inevitability and, consequently, have greater freedom to do a better job of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Footnotes

1. *Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Zedong*, Volume 1, p. 148.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
4. Jiang Zemin's speech at the meeting in celebration of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the PRC.

Reflections on the Anniversary of One's Admission to the Party

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[Article by Li Xin (2621 2946)]

[Text] Like birthdays, anniversaries of the day of my admission to the party, tend to put me in a reflective mood. This year the CPC celebrates the 69th anniversary of its birth. It also happens to be the 52d anniversary of my admission to the party. As I look around the world today and see the changes occurring in the international situation, I have a lot to think about and some deep thinking to do. Actually, these jumbled thoughts can be put down to reflections of an old party member on his own sense of social and historical responsibility.

I joined the party in the early days of the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression when the 8th Route Army was establishing the Shanxi-Suiyuan base area behind the enemy lines. I had gone through several years of deliberations before actually joining the party: My adolescent life and primary and secondary education made me feel keenly that the country was falling apart as I saw the plight of the Chinese nation and the fate that was to befall the motherland under piecemeal encroachment or wholesale annexation. I also sensed that families were falling apart as I saw the rural areas being torn by tangled fighting between warlords and the people living in the abyss of misery. The encouragement given by progressive and revolutionary friends, the enlightenment provided by progressive books and journals, the influence of Russian revolutionary novels, the fact that I was kicked out of school for participating in student movements and arrested for joining the "Federation of Leftist Writers," the nurturing I received while taking part in the December 9th Movement for Resisting Japanese Aggression and for National Salvation, the flight to safety following the fall of Beijing and Tianjin in the wake of the Lugouqiao Incident... The imminent danger of the country and the nation compelled me to make my historic choice. I made up my mind to join the CPC—the only savior of the country and the nation. I was completely transformed and gained a new lease on political life. I also resolved to become one with the commanders and fighters of the 8th Route Army, temper myself into a member of the people's fighters, and fight for communism and for the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people to the end.

True knowledge comes from practice. Revolutionary practice has taught me that personal desires and motives are not equivalent to actual results, and that joining the party organizationally does not mean fully joining the party ideologically. Having the title of Communist and becoming a truly qualified party member in accordance with the party constitution do not mean the same thing. The lessons I have learned from my 50 years of experience as a party member have made me realize that it is by no means easy to be a "Communist who is part of the great Chinese nation and has flesh-and-blood ties to this nation."¹ In other words, compared with merely having the title of party member, it is much more difficult and much greater to become a Communist both in name and in reality, to be one who persists in studying, one who constantly applies the stand, viewpoint, and method of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in striving to understand and study new situations in light of China's particular conditions and the changing conditions and circumstances, one who tackles new problems in a realistic manner, one whom "neither riches nor honors can corrupt, whom neither poverty nor lowly condition can make swerve from principle, and one whom neither threats nor force can bend," and one who always serves the people with one heart and one soul and fights for the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

In this regard, our comrades are going through the trials of protracted and complicated revolutionary practice whether or not they are conscious of these trials. In my opinion, Communists must undergo a lifetime of trials if they want to remain revolutionary all their lives. They first went through the trials of war. They had to persist in plain living and hard struggle, fear no sacrifice, and surmount all difficulties in order to win victory. After the victory, party cadres entered the power circle as members of the ruling party. As such, they went through new trials on the road of building socialism. During the Cultural Revolution, they went through trials under the despotic power of the gang of four. In the new period, they are going through new trials in the course of reform and opening the country to the outside world. At every historical juncture, there were people who halted, fell behind, degenerated, resigned to their backwardness, and were either unwilling or not game enough to press ahead against the rigorous new trials. Today, for instance, the trials of the new period are by no means any less demanding than the trials of the war years. A small number of cadres cannot even measure up to the ancient standard of "being honest and righteous in acquiring wealth" and have become slaves of money. A small number of people were affected by the bourgeois liberalization trend despite their long years of party standing and high position. What does this show? No matter how you put it, there is only one reason, and that is that they have not properly reformed their world outlook. We are dialectical materialists and historical materialists, as well as members of the real world. When the world around us is changing, when the conditions of our country are changing, and when the international situation is changing, how can there not be corresponding effects

and changes in the minds of Communists? The question is whether the ideals and convictions of Communists, as well as their Marxist stand, viewpoint, and method—in other words, their party spirit—are strengthened or weakened, are more firmly entrenched or shaken.

We should see that, after nearly 70 years of great and arduous revolutionary struggle, the historical responsibility now shouldered by the CPC is heavier than ever. In order for the disaster-ridden Chinese nation to stand tall among the world of nations; in order for China with its huge population, poverty, and backwardness to achieve socialist modernization; and in order to turn danger into safety in the ever-changing new international environment and win a victory in the new Long March, we must conscientiously practice plain living and hard struggle, work within our capability, stress stability and unity, and press ahead in a steady and coordinated manner. There are new and perilous peaks to be scaled, correct roads to be explored, glorious tasks to be shouldered, and great victories to be won. Should Communists work to overcome the difficulties, or be overwhelmed by these difficulties? In my opinion, the key lies with the Communists themselves, that is, whether they can strengthen their party spirit in accordance with the requirements laid down in the party constitution, give better scope to their role of exemplary model, better unite Chinese people of various nationalities, and take better initiative to promote the people's cause.

While it may not be necessary to "examine ourselves three times a day," it will definitely do us and the public a lot of good to uphold the idea that we are never too old to learn or to remold ourselves, always bear in mind the need to carry forward the party's fine traditions, seek truth from facts, make unremitting efforts to improve ourselves, bend ourselves to the task of rejuvenating the Chinese nation, and fight for communist ideals all our lives. On the anniversary of our admission to the party, we should sum up and examine our party spirit so as to carry forward the strong points and eliminate the weak points and foster what is right and eradicate what is wrong.

My motto is: One must have self-knowledge, self-reliance, and self-control.

Footnote

1. Mao Zedong: *The Role of the CPC in the National War*.

Getting Out of the Trough—Reading the Popular Novella *Operation Trough*

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[Text] It is generally believed popular novels on the theme of industrial reform are difficult to write. The popular novella *Operation Trough* by Li Ping [0200

1627] (carried in ZHONGGUO GUSHI, No. 4, 1989) has successfully overcome the hurdle. Set in a large enterprise, the novella quite truthfully and objectively shows the pains and vital choices confronting the enterprise as it enters a deeper level of reform, and vividly portrays the enterprise leaders under given historical conditions. It is a piece of work that can really set people thinking.

The Huanghe Shipyard described in *Operation Trough* is supposed to be the largest shipbuilding enterprise in interior China. Since it has always operated on government funding, it has become indolent and dependent and lacking in initiative. Amid the great tide of the deepening enterprise reform, its leaders are ill-informed and opinionated, and give no thought to their competitors. They carry a heavy burden, with serious wastage both in terms of material consumption and in terms of manpower. Thus, they are at their wits' end when recession hits the world's shipbuilding market. They find themselves in the predicament of having to suspend production. They have sunk into the trough and are unable to extricate themselves.

The novella uses the fate and experience of its protagonists to show the cultural trend and people's mental traits during reform. It portrays the acts and atmosphere of reform on the surface, digs into the deeper level of cultural consciousness, and comments on the long-standing cultural and mental behavior. It eloquently points out that it requires more than just a switch in product mix, the development of new technology, and organizational readjustment for an enterprise to get out of the trough. It tells us that the important thing is that "people of the times" must overcome their own shortcomings and inadequacies and get out of the "swamp" from which people over the past millennium had been trying to escape.

The tide of reform has pushed a group of intellectuals to leading posts of enterprises. The novella does a successful job portraying this group of people. The female protagonist, Tong Tong, arrives in Beijing to take up with great zest the post of director of Huanghe Shipyard. However, what awaits her is not just a shipyard on the verge of bankruptcy, but a shipyard leadership that refuses to cooperate. A former lover of hers who can help her extricate herself from this difficult position also takes his time showing up. Her predicament gives us a glimpse of some of the distorted souls under the impact of the commodity economy. The central character of this novella, Mei Haoru, was the former chief engineer of Huanghe Shipyard. Unlike the bold, resolute, and all-conquering characters portrayed in certain works on the reform theme, he has his own unique personality and goals in life. He remains optimistic despite setbacks and does not become despondent despite the frustrations he experienced. Like a fish in water, he copes well in the complicated environment of the commodity economy. He is the loser and the winner all in one. The fact that he has angrily left out of spite and refuses to see his former

lover, Tong Tong, shows there are also certain limitations in his character that are not compatible with reform. This is in keeping with his character traits.

The significance of *Operation Trough* also lies in the fact that the author has foreseen the recession of the industrial market as well as the confusion that is likely to befall an enterprise as a result of the weakening of the party's leadership. It is quite obvious the weakening of the party's leadership and ideological-political work not only has caused the enterprise to lose its rallying force and put the enterprise's political workers in a predicament, but has given the enterprise a heavy burden in its effort to get out of the trough. It tells us whether an enterprise can get out of the trough depends, to a large extent, on whether "people involved in the reform" can improve their own personal quality and reduce internal waste and friction. Only by rising out of "the manpower trough" can our enterprises get out of their trough. In this sense, *Operation Trough* is very enlightening.

Operation Trough also shows persistence by the author in his artistic pursuit. The author lived together with the workers in a factory for a long time, sharing honor and disgrace with the factory. The rich, colorful, and ever-changing life there gives him a keen sense of observation. This is why his novella has such a rich flavor of the times. The story develops in a free and easy fashion, with the plot unfolding and winding up fully to make very smooth reading. Although the image of Mei Haoru is portrayed throughout the story, he never really makes any "real appearance." The author uses different foils to provide the contrasts, so the reader can only hear the man's voice but cannot really see the person. This technique enhances the artistic charm of the novella and shows the author's pursuit and exploration of the value of literary aesthetics. What is more commendable is the way the author uses the popular novel form to express a serious theme, thereby giving the novella its ideological depth and legendary quality and solving the problem of how to blend "elegance" with "popular taste."

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